

Philadelphia Museum of Art





HANDBOOKS IN AMERICAN ART, NO. 1



THE THOMAS EAKINS COLLECTION



By Theodor Siegl

INTRODUCTION BY EVAN H. TURNER

PHILADELPHIA MUSEUM OF ART

COVER: Sailboats Racing (detail of no. 12)

FRONTISPIECE: Portrait of Thomas Eakins by Susan Macdowell Eakins (Appendix A, no. 41)

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PREFACE

The concern that Thomas Eakins's friends felt for his reputation at the time of his death is clearly evident in the statement that the portrait painter J. McLure Hamilton wrote for the Metropolitan Museum of Art on the oecasion of the 1917 memorial exhibition: "Thomas Eakins died without receiving his just reward. Whatever he may have thought of his own standing as an artist, however strong his hope that his work would be at some future time presented to an audience learned in the canons of art, he passed away last year without receiving any assurance that he was entitled to a high position among artists."

Perhaps their concern had been heightened by the lack of recognition given Eakins in Philadelphia—initially, the Pennsylvania Aeademy of the Fine Arts even refused to have a memorial exhibition for the artist, relenting only after observing the success of the exhibition in New York—for long before Eakins came to be respected loeally he was enjoying favorable reviews when his works were shown in other cities. However, during the artist's last years, when he hardly exhibited at all, he received little attention. Thus the concern of his friends was quite understandable.

In his will Thomas Eakins bequeathed three-quarters of his estate to his wife and one-quarter to their friend and companion Mary Adeline Williams. Following his death, Mrs. Eakins faced a stupendous task. Virtually all of her husband's work remained in their house at 1729 Mount Vernon Street. In no way did she waver in her conviction as to his genius, but her self-imposed responsibility was to be sure that the world should recognize it, and if possible, before she died. Fortunately, she did not face a financial need, and thus she was able to begin a calculated disposal of the pictures with the purpose of establishing the artist's reputation. For assistance, she turned to her husband's friend, the newspaper reporter Clarence Cranmer, who had posed for the timer in Between Rounds (no. 97). After negotiating the

sale of five pietures to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in May 1925, Cranmer wrote to Arthur E. Bye, eurator of paintings at the Pennsylvania Museum of Art, asking if the Museum would purchase one of Eakins's paintings, suggesting the portrait of Mrs. Frishmuth because he thought the Museum owned her eollection of musical instruments. In reply he was told courteously that there were no "funds for the purchase of any paintings at all."

A few months later, shortly before he moved to Philadelphia to become the Museum's director, Fiske Kimball asked the Metropolitan's curator of prints, William M. Ivins, Jr., for suggestions as to what he might accomplish in Philadelphia. Ivins replied tersely: "Go to see the widow Eakins."3 Thus immediately after assuming his duties in mid September of 1925, Fiske Kimball cheeked the Museum's earlier correspondence and found that Cranmer had sent a list of the Eakins paintings that might be purehased—apparently, then missing from the files. He wrote Cranmer, asking for a eopy of that list; Cranmer, however, urged a visit to 1729 Mount Vernon Street. The new director, displaying an alaerity to be repeatedly associated with him in the years to come, was able to reply that he had already called on Mrs. Eakins. Thus began the negotiations that were to result in one of the most impressive gifts in the Museum's history.

To gain some perspective on the Museum's role in the Eakins story, it should be noted that during the first quarter of this century the Museum was deeply involved in a significant change, one which fundamentally affected its growth. During this period the Museum evolved from the rather picturesque offspring of an ambitious international exhibition—the Centennial held in 1876—toward becoming one of the distinguished art museums of the Western world. Motivated by the spirit of the ninetcenth-century expositions, the Museum had been founded to collect and exhibit objects rather than paintings; but by the turn of the

century it had, almost by chance, begun to gather paintings, although not yet with the method to be associated with it in later years.

Simultaneously, a new generation of distinguished picture collectors, united in their belief that the vast spaces of a building designed to receive huge exposition crowds were hardly appropriate for the exhibition of paintings, joined the forces of urban renewal emerging in Philadelphia and persuaded the City to finance the construction of a great new museum building on Fairmount, about midway between Eakins's house and the Sehuylkill River he had loved so much. In 1914, even before the artist's death, when plans for the new building were still under discussion, the high hopes of this dream as it touched on Eakins and American art were evident in an article in the Philadelphia *Inquirer* reporting on Eakins's study of Dr. Agnew in the annual exhibition of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts: "A room devoted to the works of Thomas Eakins should have a place in any new museum which the eity of his birth may erect."4 The new Museum building, little more than a shell, finally opened to the public on March 27, 1928. Great numbers of people came; as they admired the twenty galleries that were open, many must have wondered how and when the rest of the vast building would ever be completed.

Even as the Museum was being built and galleries were being planned, Clarenee Cranmer was arranging for the sale of eertain works hanging in the Mount Vernon Street house, not only to the Metropolitan, but also to the museums of Chicago, Brooklyn, Cleveland, and to the Phillips Academy in Andover. There was no doubt, however, as he wrote the Museum on April 7, 1929, that Mrs. Eakins and he had "withheld the majority [of works] with the hopes they would remain here [in Philadelphia]." The implication seemed to be that these works were to be sold, but only a few days later, on April 12, 1929, Cranmer wrote that "Mrs. Eakins intends to make arrangements to leave them as a memorial to her husband, using her present home for the purpose."

But already Mrs. Eakins may have been thinking of the Museum for the collection. Surely she was impressed that Fiske Kimball had himself purehased the *Wrestlers* (no. 98) when it was shown in 1926 at the Sesqui-Centennial exhibition in Philadelphia, while the Museum's statement in publishing a recent gift from Judge Alex Simpson Jr., its first eollection of American painting, which included Eakins's superb canvas *Sailing* (no. 20), must

have rung a responsive chord in her soul: "Those men who blazed new trails in American art from 1870 onward, and scorned the apathy of a public which thought all good art must come from Europe, have not, until lately, been sufficiently honored. Such artists as Thomas Eakins . . . made American art history. Their works at their best are landmarks to be valued."⁵

It must have been with a great sense of victory that Fiske Kimball was in the position to write Mrs. Eakins a few months later, on December 3, 1929: "How delighted I am . . . that you and Miss Williams aeeept the offer of the Museum, and that in eonsideration of our providing the space and permanent eare for them, you and she will turn over to the Museum the pictures." But it was an even greater victory for Mrs. Eakins, for only a few days earlier, on November 29, she had written to her husband's former student and elosest friend, Samuel Murray: "Mr. Fiske Kimball has offerred to place all of the Eakins works, Pietures, Sketches, Drawings, Seulpture in the Penna. Museum. Do not tell anyone, it is not settled yet, but the offer is exactly what I want, and had hoped to accomplish some way."6

The pictures reached the Museum just before Christmas, and the new gallery showing them, with some additional gifts as well as a number of works still belonging to Mrs. Eakins, was first opened on Mareh 5, 1930. Great numbers of people, including many of the eountry's leading young collectors, were invited to participate in the celebration. For the oceasion, the Museum published in its *Bulletin*, Henri Mareeau's catalogue of Eakins's work. Mrs. Eakins could not but have felt a justified sense of satisfaction in knowing that she had made such a significant advance in the evolution of her hus-

band's reputation.

In making her gift, Mrs. Eakins had included a most enlightened stipulation: "If occasions should arise in which the Museum could in its judgment effect an exchange, favorable to the memory and reputation of Thomas Eakins, of paintings now in the Collection for other paintings, such exchange may be made." She herself added to the works she had given, and in the following years made changes in the collection, the most significant one being her request that the Museum release *Clara* (Goodrich 341) so that it might as an appropriate gesture be sent to France, the country where Eakins had developed as an artist, and enter the collections of the Louvre.

Quickly the Thomas Eakins Collection

began to grow. Within months, Mrs. Rogers's nephew, William Alexander Dick, decided to give the Museum a key work by the artist, *The Fairman Rogers Four-in-Hand* (no. 35). And in the years since then, a variety of gifts have enriched the collection adding significantly to the breadth of the representation of the artist's work. Today, Thomas Eakins is honored as he deserves in the Philadelphia Museum of Art, which has grown to greatness during the very years that his own reputation has become widespread.

With such distinguished holdings, the Philadelphia Museum of Art has beeome a significant center for Eakins studies. For some years the Museum has felt a responsibility to publish this eollection, so its information would be more widely available. The form that such an endeavor would take has been a matter of eonsiderable discussion. Perhaps a key factor in the planning of the present publication, designed to respond to the interests of a broad public, was a letter of January 10, 1930, in which Mrs. Eakins told Fiske Kimball: "It is my dearest wish that the works of my husband Thomas Eakins should be of use to the general public, and I appreciate sincerely your generous interest and earnest efforts to make this possible."

The method of Eakins studies has evolved tremendously in the ten years that the Museum has been recataloguing the Thomas Eakins Collection. From the very beginning we felt that every faet related to a work, to its creation and to its subject, would contribute to the broader understanding of the artist. We have learned that while the amount of detailed information on the artist is by no means as extensive as one might expect of someone who died only sixty years ago, much ean be discovered. But it has not always been easy. Thomas Eakins was a very private person; he did not encourage curiosity. In addition, some materials known to have been in the Mount Vernon Street house in the years following the artist's death are still held privately, and are unavailable to seholars; other material was in all likelihood destroyed when, on Mrs. Eakins's death, the house was quickly emptied of the aeeumulation of cighty-one years. Most ironie of all, partial publication of letters, misguided destruction of photographs, and diserect silenees—all motivated by the most affectionate eoneern for a reputation—have too easily nurtured unreasonable speculations. It is, therefore, our hope that the clarity of information herewith presented furthers Mrs. Eakins's expressed goals.

During the past decade, Eakins research at the Museum centered around the work of the late Theodor Siegl. As the Museum's Conservator, he was responsible for the physical well-being of the Eakins collection. He first became involved in the problems surrounding Eakins's works when, in 1961, he undertook the considerable task of the restoration of *The Gross* Clinic at the request of Jefferson Medical College, and the publication of the results of his work in the Museum Bulletin. 7 In studying the artist's methods, he frequently worked on Eakins pictures owned by private collectors and by other institutions. He himself was trained in Vienna in an academie tradition not unlike that Eakins had experienced eighty years carlier in Paris, and he had also taught the students of the Pennsylvania Aeademy, which placed him in a tradition analogous to that of Thomas Eakins. Probably no other seholar of our day knew as much about Eakins's artistic method as did Mr. Siegl.

five years ago, when it was agreed that his detailed discussions of each of the Museum's works would be complemented by my introductory statement. Mr. Siegl devoted numerous hours to the preparation of his entrics; providentially, just before his tragic death in the summer of 1976, he had completed his work and had even become involved in the editorial process. Thus it has been possible to publish in this volume his work on Thomas Eakins. Virtually all his decisions had been made; when there was a matter not quite resolved, for example, the dating of a landscape study for The Fairman Rogers Four-in-Hand (no. 34), alternative theories have been indicated. All of his work herewith presented is extensively supported by material and technical notes in the

Museum's Eakins Archives, and the evolution

of his thinking—including changes in the dating of certain works—is earcfully recorded

This publication was planned with Mr. Siegl

there.

Mr. Siegl would have warmly joined me in expressing heartfelt thanks to Elizabeth Havard and to George H. Marcus; without their awesome dedication, this book would never have been produced. Ms. Havard became involved in this undertaking when, as assistant to Mr. Siegl, she began to organize his material and to eheck technical details of the works. In the years since, even with a two-year break for study abroad, she has organized great quantities of new material as well as patiently researched the questions that were raised. Repeatedly she has discovered new facts about

Thomas Eakins, and very few indeed have her clear understanding of the details of the artist's life. This publication is immeasurably richer because of her imaginative pursuit of widely varied leads. George Marcus, as the Museum's Editor of Publications, did much to develop the form of the publication. He has been a master at skillfully creating order in what Mr. Siegl and I have written. Much more important, the stimulation of arguing out many ideas with him has been one of our most satisfying rewards in studying the work of this artist.

No research on Thomas Eakins can be done without constant consultation with Lloyd Goodrich, personally, or through his writings. The Museum's files of correspondence with him date back to the late 1920s; always he has been admirably generous in the willingness with which he shares his views and his documentary material. To us he has been a

model of scholarly support.

The other scholar who knew Mrs. Eakins and has created in each of us a sense of her dedication is Seymour Adelman. As this book shows, he also has been generous in his gifts of works by Thomas Eakins. His interest in our endeavor has known no limits, and repeatedly he has suggested directions for our thinking. Indeed, it was because of his dedicated belief that the Eakins family house at 1729 Mount Vernon Street should be saved that a donor, who prefers to remain anonymous, generously purchased it so that the Museum might administer it as an arts center responding to the needs of the neighborhood.

Gordon Hendricks's major research has been the most important contribution to Eakins scholarship since Lloyd Goodrich's original volume, and especially to our understanding of the artist's photographs. He knows the Museum's collection well, as is effectively evident in his various articles and books, and his publications of factual material have been of

great help to us.

Interesting research is now being earried out by a new generation of scholars. Such people as David Sellin, Phyllis D. Rosenzweig, Maria Chamberlin-Hellman, Ellwood C. Parry III, William I. Homer, and Louise Lippincott have repeatedly offered most interesting suggestions.

Among the many people beyond the Museum who have shared our enthusiasm for Thomas Eakins—even our affection—particular mention should be made of Abram Lerner, director of the Hirshhorn Museum; before that museum existed he made all of the

collection's information on the artist available to us.

Great numbers of people have been remarkably helpful as the Museum has pursued information for the preparation of this publication. It would be impossible to recognize them all here; certainly we have tried to express our appreciation to them at the time that they helped. Nonetheless certain acknowledgments must be made.

Successive waves of graduate students in art history, particularly from the University of Pennsylvania, the University of Delaware, and Yale University, have nurtured most rewarding discussions for all involved in this project.

Establishing the correct birth and death dates of various people in Thomas Eakins's family and eircle has been a time-consuming task. Our progress has depended significantly upon the eooperation we have had from the City of Philadelphia Archives, and in particular its archivist, Ward J. Childs. The records of various cemeteries have been remarkably uscful, most notably those of Woodlands Cemetery where the Eakins family plot (513 section c) is situated; in the office there Earl Hood has answered many questions. The Fidelity Bank has helped to establish the dates of Miss Mary Adeline Williams and has been most cooperative in clarifying details surrounding Eakins's estate

Various institutions with which Eakins was affiliated have been splendid in their readiness to reexamine original files. At the Pennsylvania Aeademy of the Finc Arts—after his family and his work, the most important factor in the artist's life—Cathy Stover, archivist, and Elizabeth Bailey, museum registrar, have been incredibly kind and enthusiastic in responding to our endless requests. The president of Central High School, Dr. Howard Carlisle, has provided fascinating information on Eakins's years at the school. An understanding of the methods of other art schools in Philadelphia has been important in studying Eakins; in this area, Gwendolyn MaeMurray of the Moore College of Art has been particularly helpful.

Other archival resources in the Philadelphia area have been made available through the good services of James E. Mooney and Peter J. Parker at the Historieal Society of Pennsylvania, Caroline Dosker at the University Museum, Stephanic A. Morris at the Franklin Institute, Ellen G. Gartrell at the College of Physicians, and Carolyn Morris at Pennsylvania Hospital, while Patricia Neiley and Nancy P. Speers have researched a variety of

questions in the Friends Historical Library at Swarthmore College. Repeatedly the staffs of the Free Library of Philadelphia, the Library of Congress, and Temple University Library (particularly Edith Hampel) have supplied us with resource material with a constant grace.

Establishing Eakins's teaching activities at other institutions has been possible only because of the assistance the Museum has been given by the authorities at Cooper Union and the Art Students League of New York, while Lois Marie Fink has shared some of her research material on the National Academy of

Design.

Nina Parris, as a University of Pennsylvania graduate student, carried out the initial research on the works Thomas Eakins exhibited publicly during his lifetime. Ferreting out Eakins's participation in exhibitions beyond Philadelphia has been eased by the work of Lynn K. Vroblick at the Carnegie Institute in Pittsburgh and Naomi Gilman at the Art Institute of Chicago. No ambitious undertaking in the field of American art could be attempted today without the invaluable assistance of the Archives of American Art.

Constance Boylan has done yeoman service in pursuing information on Eakins's connections with the various leaders of the Catholic Diocese of Philadelphia and in searching for missing works; the most helpful 1970 exhibition of the ecclesiastical works at the Seminary of St. Charles Borromeo at Overbrook was made possible by the commitment of Father John J. Shellem and the Faith and Fine Arts Group.

Mrs. Eakins's grandnephew, John Randolph Garrett, and his wife have proven a most refreshing link with the life of Mount Vernon Street, and Eakins's great-grandniece, Naney Crowell Reinbold, has supplied interesting information. The well-known Philadelphia sculptor, Beatrice Fenton, who in her youth was not only advised by Thomas Eakins but also sat for a portrait, has provided most useful

insights.

The Museum has turned to almost every public institution in the country owning a work by the artist and has received ready assistance. Berneal Anderson of the Joslyn Art Museum in Omaha and Robert Gray Barnitz have provided important assistance in clarifying archival matters. Numerous private owners have helped as well. Among the many people who have clarified details in connection with those who were painted or photographed by Thomas Eakins, particular mention should be made of

Mrs. Donald C. Blaisdell, Charles William Dibner, Willard P. Evans, J. Stuart Freeman, Jr., Dr. Jesse D. Green, Benjamin S. Richmond, Mrs. Arthur Savery Roberts, Mrs. Martin Schütze, Mrs. Margaret W. Stein, William L. Ulrich, T. van den Beemt, Elsa Weiner, Mrs. Matthews Williams, and David H. Wilson.

Others have been most helpful in providing the impetus for stimulating discussions: Anne Hecht; Joel Henkel, who has offered perceptive insights into the complexities of Eakins's use of perspective; Dr. B. Perry Ottenberg, who has also been most helpful in the pursuit of certain ideas. Marion Fahnestock and Dorothy Beardsley have pursued a great variety of leads with admirable patience.

The complexities surrounding Thomas Eakins's photographic work remain considerable. The progress made in this publication has been significantly furthered because of the assistance of Frank Gettings, Dale Jensen, William F. Stapp, and Caroline P. Wistar.

Two anonymous donors have made contributions: one when first this volume was planned, the other to assist in handling various final details; in each case the donor provided an invaluable impetus toward the fruition of this project. Mr. and Mrs. Daniel W. Dietrich H have been impressive for their commitment to Thomas Eakins in recent years; they have certainly been invaluable for their assistance in this publication.

In preparing such a complicated publication many people in the Museum have become involved. In Mr. Siegl's Conservation Department, Rick Echelmeyer repeatedly provided assistance and made special photographs; Louis Sloan, being himself a sensitive artist, was invaluable in consultations in front of specific works; and Delia Turner and Pat Barry typed the manuscript and handled many of the intricate details. Jennifer Dinsmore and Dennis J. Boylan volunteered many hours to help with the research on this project. In the Publications Department, Janet M. Iandola provided invaluable assistance in the editing of the manuscript; Elizabeth Landreth served as a knowledgeable proofreader; Marie Cairns and Jane K. Cashin carefully retyped the manuscript; and Will Brown made additional photographs. In the Director's Office, Caroline Griffith and Melanie Yulman with great devotion spent hours in preparing material and handling details; Claire Stonberg typed manuscripts with admirable patience. The Museum's librarian, Barbara Sevy, and her assistant Clarisse Carnell, and its

archivist, Merle Chamberlain, repeatedly researched facts and uncovered new sources. Gertrude Toomey's surveillance of the Museum's records during a forty-year period as registrar made her an invaluable resource in the quest for information. Finally, one of the most rewarding factors in the life of the Philadelphia Museum of Art is the vigor with which every person on the curatorial staff shares in the excitement of his colleagues' research and discoveries; repeatedly Ted Siegl and I found our friends on the staff wonderful stimulants.

With the publication of this volume, with the handsome reinstallation of the Museum's Eakins holdings by the Curator of American Art Darrel Sewell when the American Collections were opened in the spring of 1977, and with the establishment of the Eakins Archives, the Museum has made great strides in carrying out the trust Mrs. Eakins and Miss Williams imposed in making their munificent gift in 1929 and 1930. Those interested in American art are, of course, fully aware that in Thomas Eakins, the United States has one of its most distinguished artists, but we believe that the Museum's achievement of recent years will assure each new generation's discovering once again how intensely this great artist grasped the timeless qualities of the American spirit.

> E.H.T. June 28, 1977

Notes

- 1. J. McLure Hamilton, in "Thomas Eakins: Two Appreciations," *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, vol. 12, no. 11 (November 1917), p. 219.
- 2. Unless otherwise specified, all letters cited are in the Philadelphia Museum of Art Archives.
- 3. Fiske Kimball, unpublished memoirs, Philadelphia Museum of Art Archives.
- 4. The Philadelphia Inquirer, February 22, 1914.
- 5. Arthur Edwin Bye, "The Collection of Alex Simpson, Jr.," *PMA Bulletin*, vol. 24, no. 122 (October–November, 1928), p. 23.
- 6. Susan Eakins to Samuel Murray, letter dated Friday night (received November 30, 1929), Hirshhorn Museum.
- 7. Theodor Siegl, "The Conservation of the Gross Clinic," *PMA Bulletin*, vol. 57, no. 272 (winter 1962), p. 39–61.

ABBREVIATIONS

Publications

Burroughs

Alan Burroughs. "Catalogue of Work by Thomas Eakins (1869–1916)," *The Arts*, vol. 5, no. 6 (June 1924), pp. 328–33.

Goodrich

Lloyd Goodrich. Thomas Eakins: His Life and Work. New York, 1933.

Hendricks

Gordon Hendricks. The Photographs of Thomas Eakins. New York, 1973.

Hendricks, Life

Gordon Hendricks. The Life and Work of Thomas Eakins. New York, 1974.

Hoopes

Donelson F. Hoopes. Eakins Watercolors. New York, 1971.

McHenry

Margaret McHenry. Thomas Eakins, Who Painted. 1946.

Marceau

Henri Marceau. "Catalogue of the Works of Thomas Eakins," *PMA Bulletin*, vol. 25, no. 133 (March 1930), pp. 17–33.

Schendler

Sylvan Schendler. Eakins. Boston, 1967.

Institutions

PAFA

Thè Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia

PMA

Philadelphia Museum of Art (formerly Pennsylvania Museum of Art)

Hirshhorn Museum

Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, Washington, D.C.



INTRODUCTION

A MASTER HARDLY APPRECIATED IN IIIS TIME, a man virtually ignored by his society, a person whose private life is shrouded in mystery—such dramatic associations have come to be linked with Thomas Eakins's name in the years since his quiet death in 1916. Thus it is surprising to realize that in so many ways, Thomas Eakins led a relatively quiet life. With the exception of four years of study in Europe and aside from regular trips to New York and Washington for teaching—and other rare, brief excursions in the United States—he spent all his life in Philadelphia, and for fifty-five years he lived in the family house at 1729 Mount Vernon Street.

Admittedly, there were dramatic moments. Today it is difficult to comprehend how intense was the disgust of his contemporaries when they first viewed such of his major works as the two large medical subjects, done thirteen years apart, *The Gross Clinic*, representing an operation at Jefferson Medical College (see no. 23), and *The Agnew Clinic*, an operation at the University of Pennsylvania (see no. 88). Even his much gentler masterpiece, *William Rush Carving His Allegorical Figure of the Schuylkill River* (no. 28), showing a nude model posing for an earlier Philadelphia artist, was criticized for being in questionable taste.

Surely Eakins was not entirely oblivious to the difficulties some of his pictures would encounter. It is not surprising that such details as the blood on the doctor's hand in The Gross Clinic—even today a challenge to the viewer should have caused shocked reactions and led to the painting's rejection from the Centennial's immense art exhibition, which was in fact designed to show the world how great were the beauties achieved by America's finest artists. And one can easily understand why later on as important an art patron as Edward Coates decided against accepting The Swimming Hole (fig. 4), which he had commissioned; if nothing else, the modesty characteristic of his generation would have been threatened even more when it was realized that each of the men depicted enjoying a swim in nature was at least an acquaintance, if not a friend, of Coates.

Even as his works met with controversy Eakins's teaching methods provoked opposition. The heavy demands of his program for training would-be artists, intense as it was in its professional expectations of the students,

repeatedly vexed those with a more casual interest in their artistic studies. The program came to be severely criticized by outside observers; indeed, feelings about Eakins's teaching methods at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts were so aroused that in 1886 the Board of Directors felt obliged to demand the artist's resignation as the head of its schools.

As one studies Thomas Eakins's evolution as an artist and teacher, one cannot help but wonder whether almost unconsciously he courted disaster. Repeatedly his actions seem to have encouraged his difficulties; for example, when, . in his youth, he was invited to address his high school commencement, he refused, saying: "All I have learned is from books, I have not invented or discovered any thing, and have nothing to tell people what I have learned in books, and this same knowledge any one can get from the books." Years later in 1904, he deliberately defied the city's cultural leaders when he ostentatiously took the long-coveted Temple Gold Medal awarded him by the Academy and turned it in at the Mint for its value in gold.2 Likewise, the casual manner with which he handled such sitters as the formidable Mrs. Gillespie (no. 91) or the younger Mrs. Talcott Williams (no. 80) could not have led to anything but conflict. And it would seem that Eakins did not learn from his unfortunate experiences—unless the elimination of virtually all subjects but portraits from his oeuvre in the later years may be seen as a quiet withdrawal from the critical arena.

To a surprising degree, however, disinterest was the lot of Thomas Eakins. While today many would consider him America's greatest artist, in his own day he was little known and his commissions were few. Most of his portraits were of friends who willingly volunteered the many hours he required for creating a portrait. Of his various other works, only a handful were sold during his lifetime. In the course of his lengthy career, only once, in 1896, did he have a one-man exhibition. Repeatedly he sent works to major exhibitions, including several in Europe, and although recent research has shown that he received more critical consideration than was formerly thought, nonetheless during the period of his most brilliant portraits, between 1891 and about 1906, he rarely received little more that a passing reference in the Philadelphia press. Had his family's resources not been sufficient to support him, he might well have starved physically as, in so many ways, he did critically throughout his life.

Eakins's Training and Teaching

Few indeed were Philadelphia's opportunities for the education of would-be artists in the years immediately following Eakins's graduation from high school in 1861. Admittedly the life of the city was severely disrupted-and even briefly threatened—by the Civil War, but nonetheless, in the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, founded in 1805, Philadelphia proudly possessed America's most distinguished art school. In spite of its long tradition, however, the Academy then provided little more than a series of remarkably casual classes with virtually no methodical supervision of a professional nature.³ While clearly influenced by the methods of teaching long established in the older academies of Europe, the program as it existed was oriented almost more toward those developing drawing-room skills than toward the needs of a professional artist. It was not until 1868, after Eakins had been working in Paris for a year, that John Sartain, the father of his two friends Emily and William, reorganized the Academy's schools to develop, under the leadership of Christian Schussele, a much more methodical curriculum.

In the traditional program developed by the European academies during the previous two hundred years, students had devoted endless hours to drawing the revered carvings salvaged from the destruction of the ancient Greek and Roman civilizations (usually from reproductions cast in plaster); after all, what better basis could there be for future creativity than a complete understanding of the ideal proportions of the masterpieces of the past. When after many months of working from casts a student was felt to be sufficiently accomplished, he was allowed to undertake an equally deliberate study of the human figure, making endless numbers of drawings of a succession of models in a great variety of poses. Eakins's enrollment in the Antique class at the Academy shows that he too had worked from casts, but with one possible exception⁴ no such drawings remain today; in all likelihood, once he was admitted to the life class in February 1863 (see no. 1) he devoted virtually all of his efforts to drawing from the

During the years preceding his departure for Paris, Eakins's creative activity was essentially restricted to drawing. Beyond a few school works now in the Hirshhorn Museum and a number of charcoal drawings, very little is known about his development as a draftsman. In fact, so little is known that the dating of his documented academic drawings and the attribution of certain others remain perhaps the single most controversial subject of discussion among Eakins scholars.

Once having reached Paris, Eakins displayed a characteristic stubborn energy to overcome the policy of that year against foreigners enrolling in the classes of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts; he gained admission to the atelier of the widely admired painter, Jean-Léon Gérôme, who only three years earlier had been appointed professor at the Ecole. That Gérôme should have approved his application surely attests to the success of what must have been lonely and arduous

work in Philadelphia.

Thereafter, Eakins followed the conventional course of training pursued by students working in Paris at the time: first, continuation of the drawing exercises (although contrary to Gérôme's recommendation, he deliberately stayed away during "the antique week" and then, only later, painting. Typically, in an atelier, students worked independently among themselves, with the master making scheduled visits, usually once a week, to offer criticism. How pleased Eakins must have been when he learned, as the winter of 1867 drew to a close, that Gérôme finally felt he had gained sufficient ability to begin to paint. In another year's time, with great relief, he was to write his father: "One terrible anxiety is off my mind. I will never have to give up painting," adding, practically, "for even now I could paint heads good enough to make a living anywhere in America."7

In working first with Gérôme and then briefly in the atelier of the realist painter Léon Bonnat, the young Philadelphian was exposed to the two divergent traditions of French academic painting, one tight and precise, then influenced by the style of Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres, the other more painterly and colorful, reflecting the method of Eugène Delacroix. The deliberate method that would characterize Eakins's entire career would therefore seem to be already evident in his decision, whether conscious or unconscious, to experience firsthand these two much disputed attitudes.

For many Americans working abroad—though possibly not as much for Eakins—an even more significant factor of the European experience was the opportunity to see original works by the great masters of the past. Just

after the Civil War, America had no distinguished public collections. Thus the work of artists who may have been household names in America could then be known only through engraved reproductions (the photography of such pictures was just beginning to be done). Eakins visited the picture galleries of the Continent, and he attended the various exhibitions of contemporary art in Paris as well. Little is known, however, about the development of his taste, since the relatively few letters that remain from his European sojourn discuss his studies and progress as an artist or deal with the details of daily existence abroad. One of his letters does express his admiration for "the good Spanish work so good so strong so reasonable so free from every affectation,"8 notably the works of Ribera and even more of Velázquez. Otherwise, aside from passing references to the Venetians, that is, Titian, Tintoretto, and Veronese, to Castiglione, and to Goya (whom he compared to Gilbert Stuart), there are few indications as to which other great masters of the past then stirred his spirits. 9 Perhaps few did. Certainly he loathed Rubens-in the letter praising the Spaniards, Eakins referred to him as "the nastiest most vulgar noisy painter that ever lived"¹⁰—and he had little respect for Van Dyck.

Later references to his tastes in art are equally rare. He visited Sargent's portrait of Asher Wertheimer when it was shown in Philadelphia. He traveled to New York to see Rembrandt's Woman Paring Her Nails at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. But little else is known. Years later, after Eakins's death, his former student Thomas Eagan (who subsequently stopped painting to become a mechanical engineer) discussed Eakins's references to other artists with Margaret McHenry, who reported: "When it came to other painters, Eakins talked most of Gérôme . . . , of Velasquez, Ribera, Fortuny, Corot, Millet. Tommy Eagan thought Eakins never spoke much of the Germans, but liked Corbet [sic]. . . . Eakins particularly liked Rembrandt's 'Portrait of a Man,' and he liked Frans Hals and Phidias and the old Greek masters, but he never said much about Raphael."11 If indeed he admired Millet, he shared that enthusiasm with Walt Whitman, who is known to have made a trip to Boston especially to see the considerable collection of that artist's work belonging to Quincy Shaw. Another student, Charles Bregler, recalled Eakins discussing with admiration a charcoal drawing of a dancer by Degas and observing: "That fellow knew what he was about."12

In his approach to painting, Eakins was thoroughly independent, very much the product of ninetcenth-century America, and surely he saw himself as such. If he turned to others, whether living or dead, he did so solely to learn his craft; he had no wish to emulate their vision. Years later, Mrs. Eakins confirmed his point of view: "He respected the work of great painters, but did not desire to copy them. He said 'All really great painters & sculptors went to nature for their knowledge. While it was a benefit to see the results of their intelligent studies, the lesson they gave you, was to work from nature, not from some other fellow's work.' "13 In another letter, to his student I. Laurie Wallace, she wrote: "Tom was never influenced by any painters work, but he did admire the old Spanish painters like Rebera [sic] and Valesquez [sic]—so did he like Rembrandt & Gerome but you will remember he said always—'work from nature,' try to do as good work as has been done & try to do even better. And so I think all great painters thought."14

Nevertheless, the study of old masters was at least accepted as part of the learning process for art students at the Academy under Eakins, for when he was in charge of instruction there, the walls of one of the studios were hung with numerous reproductions, which, thanks to Adolph Braun's innovative use of the new technique, were photographic rather than en-

graved.¹⁵ Fakins

Eakins studied the world around him, scrutinizing every detail with an unusual intensity, even as he gathered information that would finally enable him to paint anything he might observe. Every aid that might be employed to achieve that end was thoroughly examined; for example, during the early years he spent endless hours learning and applying the rules of perspective, while after 1880, evidently with great excitement, he worked with his new camera, a gadget that fundamentally changed his vision as a painter (see no. 40). The independence of his approach is corroborated by the patterns of his work in Paris: he studied in the ateliers, but he also spent many hours alone working in his own room, steadily developing his abilities.

After almost three years abroad, Eakins finally felt his student days were over. There can be no doubt that the time in Paris had been essential to his education, for he wrote his father: "What I have learned I could not have learned at home; for beginning, Paris is the best place." He recognized Gérôme's importance in "overthrowing completely the ideas I had got before at home." However, he also knew that "it



Fig. 1 A Street Scene in Seville, 1870 Oil on canvas, 62¾ x 42" Collection of Mrs. John Randolph Garrett, Sr.

is bad to stay at school after being advanced as far as I am now."¹⁷ Thus, after a brief stay in Spain to test his abilities as a full-fledged painter (for the first time he painted a subject picture, one with several figures, *A Street Scene in Seville*; fig. 1), he returned to Philadelphia.

Eakins's own attitude toward his academic training becomes more evident in studying the program of instruction he subsequently designed for his Academy students. The system he had experienced in France was undoubtedly his starting point but in a number of areas he departed significantly from it. For example, even though the Academy once again had a large number of plaster casts—the country's largest collection, destroyed in a fire at the Academy in 1845, had gradually been reconstituted—his students spent little time working with them. Eakins had little use for the Antique class,18 a viewpoint he had expressed in a letter written from Paris: "Often I wish now that I had never so much as seen a statue, antique or modern, till after I had seen painting

for some time."¹⁹ He felt that Antique models should be used only as a resource, against which students could measure their own work, for "work from nature is more useful than that from a copy of nature, however great."²⁰

Under his program, as soon as students demonstrated minimal skill, they were admitted to the sketch class.21 There, working from clothed models in various poses, they were quickly introduced to the idea of the body as an expression of individual personality and feelings. Soon after, the students, then divided into separate classes according to their sex, began the lengthy study of drawing from the unclothed figure. In traditional life classes, whether in France or America, students were expected to spend many months making charcoal drawings of the figure from every point of view. Such had also been the practice at the Academy under Schussele, himself trained in the same tradition that Eakins had experienced under Gérôme. Thus, Eakins's teaching methods were recognized as a departure when he insisted that the students paint rather than draw their studies of the nude. "The brush is a more powerful and rapid tool than the point or stump," he explained. "Very often, practically, before the student has had time to get his broadest masses of light and shade with either of these, he has forgotten what he is after. . . . the main thing that the brush secures is the instant grasp of the grand construction of a figure. There are no lines in nature . . . only form and color. . . . the most difficult thing to catch about a figure is the outline. The student drawing the outline of that model with a point is confused and lost if the model moves a hair's-breadth. . . . Moreover, the outline is not the man; the grand construction is. Once that is got, the details follow naturally."22

Eakins's students were understandably enthusiastic about this procedure; he reduced what must have seemed to them the tiresome—even irrelevant—aspects of their curriculum and let them get quickly to the heart of the matter: painting. And they had, in his own quick studies, a spectacular example of how the particular personality of a sitter could be grasped through a characteristic movement (see, for example, nos. 50 and 64). Achieving an overall understanding of the figure was the primary intent of the classes. The models were changed frequently, fortnightly, if not weekly, Eakins explained, "because it is only by constant change that pupils learn that one model does not look at all like another. There is as much difference in bodies as in faces, and the character should be sought in its complete

unity." He continued, interestingly, to add: "On seeing a hand one should know instinctively what the foot must be."²³

The importance attached to modeling is evident in Eakins's decision to devote some of his time in Paris to working with the sculptor Alexandre-Augustin Dumont. Nothing scems to be known of what in fact he learned from this capable, if little-known, artist, but clearly he returned with the notion that modeling should be part of his students' experience. Under his Academy program, a student who seemed to be having particular difficulties in grasping the total movement of a figure would be assigned to the modeling class, where he made threedimensional sketches, in clay or in wax, of the posed figure. Understanding movement, not creating sculptures, was the objective of this exercise. Proof that Eakins himself had discovered the effectiveness of this method in planning pictures is evident in his use of wax sketches as studies for the painting of William Rush (see no. 26) and for The Fairman Rogers Four-in-Hand (see no. 32).

Understanding the laws of pictorial space was also a major element in the Academy course. Eakins, who became America's leading lecturer on artistic perspective in the last quarter of the nineteenth century (see no. 56), assigned his students complicated tasks, expecting them to draw scenes incorporating a number of specific elements with a precision that could leave no doubt as to their placement in space or even often of the time of day repre-

sented.

Not trusting the eye alone, Eakins insisted in turn upon an even more specialized branch of training for his students. Lectures on anatomy had been a longstanding tradition of the academic system—at times observation of dissection was even suggested, as Gérôme had done—but Thomas Eakins asked much more. Advanced students were expected to participate in dissection, not only of human cadavers but also of animals. It was an arduous course. William Brownell, the single most thorough source of information about the Academy's curriculum under Eakins, summarized the program:

Every day during the dissections, the life classes are admitted to the dissecting room to study the parts already lectured upon and to make drawings of them for reference and guidance. There are some thirty lectures in the course, which, one may judge from the following details, is tolerably thorough: after an introductory lecture upon the relations of

anatomy to art, and methods of studying artistic anatomy, some eight lectures are devoted to the skeleton and twelve to the muscles, chiefly, of course, the superficial muscles; the face naturally occupies a good deal of attention and dissections of the human head are accompanied by dissections of horses', cats', dogs', and sheeps' heads to show comparisons and variations. Electricity is used to show the action of individual muscles, and four lectures are given to the individual features of the face, with analyses of their forms and their exaggerations in caricature. Two lectures relate to the skin and its appendages, the hair and beard, and a careful study is made of the wrinkles of the skin, especially those of the face. Finally, four lectures are devoted to the subjects of "postural expression," the proportions of the body, and the influence of sex upon physical development.24

Brownell ended his summary of the course with the just observation: "It quite takes one's breath away, does it not?"

This aspect of Eakins's program was very controversial, and gave rise to discussions as to whether it was indeed "artistic." But Eakins was able to justify it: "To draw the human figure it is necessary to know as much as possible about it, about its structure and its movements, its bones and muscles, how they are made, and how they act." His point was effectively made when he added: "You don't suppose we pay much attention to the viscera, or study the functions of the spleen, I trust."25 His observations on his own anatomical training in medical surroundings show that he designed this course to respond to the particular problems facing would-be artists: "Of course, one can waste time over anatomy and dissection. I did myself, when I began to study; I not only learned much that was unnecessary, but much that it took me some time—time that I greatly begrudged—to unlearn; for a time, my attention to anatomy hampered me."26

Clearly Thomas Eakins was a demanding master,²⁷ but, under no circumstances could his students feel that he asked more of them than of himself. The students would have been quite correct in understanding such high expectations as evidence of his deep commitment to their training and to their future as artists. But increasingly the audience for whom the classes existed became an issue at the Academy. By 1881, Fairman Rogers was able to state that the classes were fundamentally "in the interest of those who intend to become professional art-

ists," although he added, "amateurs are at liberty to make what use of the school they can, as

far as its means and space permit."28

The Academy's directors found Eakins's methods and attitudes puzzling and, eventually, wearing beyond endurance. During a period in which the very act of creativity was intensely romanticized by artists, critics, and connoisseurs alike, Eakins's insistence upon long hours of hard work, often in thoroughly unsavory circumstances, must have been, for some, a severe trial. The complaints, for example, about the stench of the formaldehyde at the Academy could have been expected.

Difficulties with Eakins's teaching methods had been publiely recognized by Brownell in 1879 when he suggested that "Mr. Eakins is a little too hard upon the Greeks, and a little too enthusiastic about the beauty of eircus tumblers; that his realism, though powerful, lacks charm; that in his eare for the complete equipment of his pupils he forgets to give them any sailing orders, sealed or otherwise; that he is a trifle too unclassie, so to speak, too unacademie in his ideas, (not his expression); that he is too skeptical concerning the invisible forces that lie about us. . . . "29 A year later, Eakins's old friend, the Evening Telegraph's art critic, William J. Clark, Jr., discussed with Fairman Rogers "the serious lackings of Mr. Eakins in more than one direction."30

But the various minutes of the Aeademy's meetings reveal little of the mounting eontroversy about the director.31 That Eakins himself must have become steadily more unhappy at the Aeademy is reflected, perhaps, in his having observed, some years later: "I taught in the Aeademy from the opening of the schools until I was turned out, a period much longer than I should have permitted myself to remain there."32 The board's formal position on the issue of eurrieulum was publicly stated in 1886, shortly after forcing the artist to resign from the directorship of the schools: "Mr. Eakins holds one elass of views on the subject of the work of Life Sehools and the directors hold another. In any such difference of opinion, the will and judgment of the directors is supreme. It is their School and nobody's else."33

Though the record reveals little, one ean readily imagine what some of the real problems surrounding Eakins's resignation must have been. His insistence upon teaching his students how to paint rather than how to "make a pieture" was certainly an issue. Indeed, Fairman Rogers's need to discuss the matter in his article on the Academy's schools is proof of the seriousness of that concern. He must have been

reflecting Eakins's own attitude when he wrote: "The objection that the school does not sufficiently teach the students picture-making, may be met by saying that it is hardly within the province of a school to do so. It is better learned outside, in private studios, in the fields, from nature, by reading, from a careful study of other pictures, of engravings, of art exhibitions; and, in the library, the print room and the exhibitions. . . . It must not be supposed that broad culture is unnecessary . . . but it should be attained as far as possible before and after this particular period of work [i.e., the classes at the Academy]."³⁴

But some effort at introducing a greater breadth of training was being made. In 1881, Eakins had introduced a class in portraiture. In 1883, he initiated a course on still life, although he made it clear that in his eyes this study was undertaken not so much to expose the students to new subject matter as to ereate a situation "where eolor and tone experiments may be made on a greater seale than the grey tones of the flesh afford in the life classroom."35 There was no formal course on landscape painting, although evidently the students were encouraged to work outside (see no. 43). Clearly there was a steadily growing desire to introduce courses that taught students to paint the works favored by a new generation of patrons who were no longer interested in the subject pictures associated with such popular artists of Second Empire France as Gérôme.³⁶

Another factor leading up to Eakins's dismissal in 1886 was the Aeademy's eoneern about its finances.37 The 1882 reorganization of the classes whereby, for the first time, the Aeademy eharged fees was a elear indication of that eoneern. Although the desired goals had been achieved, according to Eakins—indeed he felt the elasses were as full as they could be and still hope to maintain the quality of the experience³⁸—the directors obviously still felt financial coneern, since the total Aeademy budget had faced a deficit for several years. 39 Certain economies were undertaken: in the 1885 annual exhibition, for example, no foreign loans were accepted, while at the same time the number of models employed by the sehool was reduced. Thus, when news of Joseph E. Temple's bequest of \$25,000 on condition it be matched three to one within three years reached the Academy in January 1886, its challenge was accepted with an understandable alacrity.

In an effort to reduce the financial deficit, further changes were made at the school, and the evidence indicates that Eakins's departure was seen as a part of that effort. Edward Coates's statement for the Academy's Annual Report, early in 1887, observes: "A number of changes have been made . . . which, it is believed, will be in every way of advantage. For some time . . . the Committee on Instruction were of the opinion that better results would be obtained, and a broader teaching follow, from the influence of several minds in the schools rather than from the influence of one. In the early part of the year Mr. Thomas Eakins presented his resignation, and the office of Director of the Schools, previously held by him, was abolished."⁴⁰

Whatever particular act may be said to have provoked the decision of February 8, 1886, to request Eakins's resignation, that was not ultimately the issue; the aggregation of concerns can leave no doubt that the termination would have occurred eventually.

The dismissal from the Academy was a considerable blow to Eakins; it must have seemed a monstrous rejection. Once again, as in 1877, when he had been forced to stop teaching as Schussele's assistant at the Academy, many of the students objected; about forty of them left the Academy to create the Art Students' League as a forum for his teaching (see no. 73). Eakins's example as a teacher was to be felt for some years through his activity at the League. But gradually the demand for his services dwindled as a new generation of students emerged and, much more important, as aesthetic attitudes distinctly different from those he espoused gradually gained ground throughout the country. The League closed quietly, only six years after its founding amid such great furor. Eakins continued to lecture at schools in New York, Washington, and Philadelphia on the two subjects he probably understood better than any other artist in America, artistic anatomy and perspective, but by 1897 even this had ceased.

Although Eakins no longer taught and there were no significant artists carrying on his style, his example as a teacher continued to be felt, albeit indirectly, for some years. In curious ways he continued as an *eminence grise* at the Academy. This is evident in a surprising statement, made years later, by Cecilia Beaux, a Philadelphia artist who was to receive the portrait commissions Eakins might justly have expected: "No one who studied under him ever forgot his precepts, or could be interested in any principles of Art that did not include his. They were rock-bottom, fundamental, but somehow reached regions, by research, that others could not gain by flight."⁴¹

It is interesting to note, however, that even as Eakins was deeply involved in the training of his students he was always aware that the primary aim of that experience was to teach them the tools of their trade. He did not wish his students to emulate his style. Clearly he had no illusions as to the limitations of the masterstudent relationship. Years before, in writing from Paris, Eakins commented to his father: "A teacher can do very little for a pupil and should only be thankful if he don't hinder him, and the greater the master, mostly the less he can say." Of his own experience he went on to write: "Gérôme is too great to impose much . . . he has never been able to assist me much, and oftener bothered me by mistaking my troubles."42

The Importance of Family and Friends

William Sartain referred to Eakins as "a sincere, unaffected man and a thinker," characterizing him as "distinctly apart from the mass of his contemporaries." That the artist could be so independent in his outlook must in no small part have been the result of the extraordinary support he could depend upon at home.

Benjamin Eakins (see no. 89), the product of a simple background, who had become successful as one of the city's finest calligraphers, was early convinced of his son's promise.44 That Eakins should have chosen to become an artist rather than to study medicine, a profession he may briefly have considered entering, 45 may well have been due to the artistic nature of his father's work. The elder Eakins had strongly encouraged and even financed the years of study and work in Europe. Samuel Murray later quoted Eakins repeating his father's words: "You learn to paint the best you can, Tom; you'll never have to earn your own living."46 Thereafter, through many difficult years, his father hovered supportively in the background.

The stern attitude characteristic of the elder man may at times have presented problems for the young artist. Indeed, concern about his father's criticism, or even control, may be inferred from the agreement made years earlier, but recorded more formally in 1883, stating that the artist "will have the right to bring to his studio [on the fourth floor of the Mount Vernon Street house] his models, his pupils, his sitters, and whomsoever he will, and both Benjamin Eakins and Thomas Eakins recognizing the necessity and usage in a figure painter of professional secresy [sic], it is understood that



Fig. 2 The Chess Players, 1876 Oil on wood, 1134 x 1634" The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Gift of the artist, 1881

the coming of persons to the studio is not to be the subject of comment or question by the family."⁴⁷ However, his continued residence at Mount Vernon Street—aside from a move into his Chestnut Street studio for a few months following his marriage—is ample evidence of the quiet dependence that must have characterized their relationship.

The financial security provided by his father was also of immense importance to the artist. In 1880, Eakins's notebook showed that aside from his teaching, he had to that date earned only a little more than \$2,000 from his art.48 His account books for 1883, 49 for example, provide additional information about his finances. He received \$100 a month for teaching at the Academy and \$100 a month plus his expenses from the Brooklyn Art Association, and had an additional modest income from his ownership of parts of certain mortgages and some United States bonds, investments which his father handled for him. He had had high hopes for a significant increase in income as the result of the Academy's 1882 reorganization of its classes, but three years later when he wrote the directors, reminding them of their promise, he

noted his disappointment: "My promised salary was a large factor in my determination to remain in Philadelphia."⁵⁰

No similar sources exist to establish firmly the all too modest income the artist "enjoyed" from his art in the later years. However, Eakins had no financial need. When his father died in 1899, he received a third of his estate, including the Mount Vernon Street house, and Benjamin Eakins left no mean estate for his day, \$80,000 in personal property, and \$10,000 in real estate.⁵¹ This documents a remarkable success, for his own father's estate, consisting of nothing more than foods and goods, had in 1839 been valued at \$259.81¹/₄.⁵² In addition, for many years, Susan Eakins received a monthly stipend from her family.

The role of Eakins's mother is not as clear as that of his father; it can be presumed, however, to have been characterized by great affection as well as love. In a letter written to Emily Sartain just as he was departing for Paris, after referring to "my good father," he spoke of her as "my sweet mother." The charm of his sympathetic feelings is evident in his correspondence from Paris, particularly in a lengthy letter he

wrote to his mother shortly after his arrival, describing and illustrating his first Parisian room.⁵⁴

Apparently his wish to be at home to support his mother during her last lengthy illness⁵⁵ explains in large part his concentration upon the family circle as his subjects when he first returned to America. She died most mysteriously, the death register citing the cause as "exhaustion from mania."⁵⁶ After his mother's death, her influence would have continued to be felt by the presence in the house of her sister Clementine, who died only a year later, and the kindly Aunt Eliza, who lived with the family until her own death early in 1899.

The Eakins family seems, however unconsciously, to have nurtured interrelationships. When two of Eakins's sisters married, they chose as their husbands, friends of their brother. In 1872, his oldest sister Frances usually called Fanny-married his school friend William Crowell. It was Crowell's sister Katherine to whom Eakins became engaged in 1874, remaining betrothed until suddenly she died of meningitis in 1879. William and Frances Crowell lived initially at the Mount Vernon Street house, having their first three children there. Only in 1877 did they move to the farm in Avondale that Benjamin Eakins had helped them purchase. In 1885 the youngest sister Caroline-or Caddy-married one of Eakins's students, George Frank Stephens, who ironically was to play a role in the Academy's rejection of the artist. Margaret-Maggy-his favorite sister (see no. 7), never married; it was she who devoted many hours to her brother's well-being, joining him in expeditions and assisting him in handling any number of practical details. Her sudden death, at twenty-nine, just before Christmas in 1882, must, therefore, have been a devastating blow for the artist.

Thirteen months after Margaret's death, when he was forty, Eakins married one of his most able students, Susan Macdowell. Remaining quietly in the background—contemporary accounts would suggest that only rarely did she accompany her husband to various functions—she devoted much of her life to his comfort and his reputation.⁵⁷ During his lifetime, her own not inconsiderable career as a painter played a decidedly secondary role, becoming more active only in the years following his death.⁵⁸

There were no children from the marriage, which must have been a considerable sadness given the wish for children expressed in his earlier years.⁵⁹ Those children who were part of



Fig. 3 The Pathetic Song, 1881 Oil on canvas, 45 x 32½" The Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

the family, his nephews and nieces in Avondale, are said to have been cut off from him by their father's edict in 1897 following their sister Ella's suicide, although today the details of this incident are not clear. 60 Otherwise, youth was provided by the comings and goings of his students. Even this changed in later years when Eakins gave up teaching, and in his last years one of his students, Samuel Murray (see no. 75), played a particularly important role in his life, and that role was a happy blending of student, friend, and son.

The one other significant personage in Eakins's life at Mount Vernon Street was Mary Adeline Williams (see no. 101), who came to live there in 1900, just after the deaths of his aunt and his father. A childhood friend of Margaret, Addie may even have been related to the Eakinses; certainly she was a cousin of the Crowells. The ties of affection were long-standing; some thirty years earlier the artist had even written from Paris that Addie "is a pretty little girl & I guess just as good as she is pretty. . . . We owe a great deal to her father & mother for their unvarying and disinterested

kindness to us."⁶¹ Her great importance in running the household and in giving daily support was recognized by the artist in bequeathing her a quarter of his own estate. She stayed on, caring for Mrs. Eakins, and finally seeing her out of the world in 1938.

In studying the relationships of Eakins's middle years, it is fascinating to recognize the frequency with which the artist turned to older men, rather than to his eontemporaries. As has already been shown, his father was of paramount importance in his life; his father-inlaw, William H. Macdowell, also came to play a significant role, though undoubtedly on a somewhat different basis. Professionally the two fathers were quite elose, one being a master of fine lettering, the other an engraver of documents; indeed the latter had made engravings of the former's work. The importance of Maedowell would seem to be supported by the artist's work. Eakins rarely painted an individual's likeness more than onee,62 but he painted Macdowell often, perhaps as many as six times, while he also took a number of photographs of him. Some of these paintings are among the freshest and boldest works of his whole eareer. Perhaps his father-in-law offered himself willingly as a subject for experimentation, very much as the artist's sisters had done at the beginning of his career, when he had just returned from Paris.

Thomas Eakins had immense reverence for his masters. The great importance he attached to Gérôme's assessment of his progress during the two years after his return to Philadelphia is foreefully shown by the eonsiderable efforts he took in 1873 to send his master a recent watereolor. Gérôme's critieism of the work and general approbation were ample rewards for his effort; he observed in writing Eakins: "I offer you my eompliments and eneourage you to eontinue working so seriously, which will assure you of becoming a talented man. . . . I am happy to have a student such as you to do me honor in the New World."63 In each of the following two years he sent additional works to Gérôme, who submitted them to the Salon or sent them to his father-in-law, the dealer Goupil, to be sold (see no. 12).

After his return from Europe, Eakins was prepared to go to great extremes to assist his former teacher Christian Sehussele, who was much weakened by increasingly grave palsy, with his instruction at the Aeademy. Eakins's generosity of spirit is evident in his providing this support even though their philosophy of instruction differed significantly. He then be-

eame adamant in his refusal to eondone the Academy's efforts to force Sehussele's resignation because of poor health, threatening that should this occur he too would leave the sehool.

Eakins's great respect for justly deserved authority must account for his looking frequently to doctors and scientists for friendships and, often, also as subjects for his pictures. In a nation as young as America, one still so naïve in outlook and so demoeratie in spirit that its eitizens were readily skeptical of any authority, no other professionals enjoyed the unquestioning respect that was felt for those pursuing seientifie studies and particularly for those practicing medicine. Eakins worked with these men in the pursuit of his studies, first of human anatomy and then of animal loeomotion. They in turn often volunteered their time for the lengthy sittings that his more ambitious portraits required.

That in later years, just after his father's death, Eakins should have suddenly turned with such commitment to the circle of Roman Catholic elergy associated with the seminary at nearby Overbrook may well suggest that their wise authority answered a considerable personal need. Surely, his quest was not one of faith; given his apparent skepticism of things mystical, he was at most an agnostic. 64 Nevertheless, the intensity of his extraordinary portraits of these cleries can leave little doubt of the depth of his response to their force and conviction.

None of Eakins's relationships with older friends is more interesting than that with Walt Whitman, the august yet intensely controversial poet, twenty-five years older than Eakins, who spent the last years of his life in Camden, aeross the Delaware River from Philadelphia. Little is known of their friendship, although elearly the poet was remarkably sensitive in his understanding of the artist. "Does Eakins wear well? Is he a good comrade?" Whitman's biographer asked the poet, who answered: "He does: he is: he has seen a great deal: is not too ready to tell it: but is full, rieh, when he is drawn upon: has a dry, quiet manner that is very impressive to me, knowing, as I do, its background." When asked about his "social gifts" since the artist was accused of "being uncouth, unehary, boorish," Whitman replied, "What are social gifts? . . . I should say, Tom Eakins lacks them as, for instance, it would be said I lack them: not that they are forgotten, despised, but that they enter secondarily upon the affairs of my life. Eakins might put it this way: first there is this thing to do, then this



Fig. 4 The Swimming Hole, 1883–85 Oil on canvas, 27 x 36" Fort Worth Art Museum, Texas

other thing, then maybe this third thing, or this fourth: these done, got out of the way, *now* the social graces."65

The number of photographs that Eakins took (see no. 79) and the brilliant spirit of his one complete portrait of Whitman (fig. 5) can leave no doubt of his wonderful sympathy for the poet. Whitman's own reaction to his portrait, his favorite of the many that had been done, is evident in his having stated: "The Eakins portrait gets there—fulfils its purpose; sets me down in correct style, without feathers—without any fuss of any sort. I like the picture always—it never fades—never weakens." 66

Eakins and Whitman apparently first met at the low point of the artist's life, in the spring of 1887, shortly before his departure for the Dakotas. The two-month trip to the Bad Lands had been undertaken on the assumption that a complete change of scene was the most efficacious cure for the severe depression the artist was experiencing. Certainly the trip would have been considered a complete success, for Eakins returned with full vigor. One suspects that, indirectly at least, the poet must have played a significant role in the painter's renewed com-

mitment immediately after his trip. In Whitman he had a spectacular example of an internationally respected artist whose local image, when he was recognized, was that of a dubious eccentric. For Yet the poet's fervor of creativity was in no way affected by public opinion; the steady pursuit of perfection evident in the constant reworking of his masterpiece, Leaves of Grass, displays that synthesis of experience and consideration found only in the works of the greatest artists. Indeed, Eakins and Whitman were quite alike in their willingness to invest endless hours in a work to achieve its most perfect expression.

In Whitman's autobiographical poem "Song of Myself," the images found in the sweeping examination of his life repeatedly invoke motifs or attitudes that are also found in Eakins's pictures. Each man's work was a reflection of life as he had experienced it. While there are more mystical overtones in the poet's words than in the painter's images, there is a frank honesty in each that is far removed from the romantic perceptions characteristic of the work of so many of their contemporaries.

Recognizing that each pursued his work

quite independently of the other—many of the artist's most famous subject pictures had been painted before he ever met the poet (one cannot determine when Eakins first began to read Whitman's writings)—the frequency of analogous images becomes only more fascinating. To cite one example, we might compare Eakins's Swimming Hole (fig. 4), in part somewhat contrived, with the poet's smoother and surer verses in Section 11 of "Song of Myself":

Twenty-eight young men bathe by the shore,

Twenty-eight young men and all so friendly;

Twenty-eight years of womanly life and all so lonesome.

She owns the fine house by the rise of the bank,

She hides handsome and richly drest aft the blinds of the window.

Which of the young men does she like the best?

Ah the homeliest of them is beautiful to her.

Where are you off to, lady? for I see you,

You splash in the water there, yet stay stock still in your room.

Dancing and laughing along the beach came the twenty-ninth bather,

The rest did not see her, but she saw them and loved them.

The beards of the young men glisten'd with wet, it ran from their long hair,

Little streams pass'd all over their bodies.

An unseen had also pass'd over their bodies,

It descended tremblingly from their temples and ribs.

The young men float on their backs, their white bellies bulge to the sun, they do not ask who seizes fast to them,

They do not know who puffs and declines with pendant and bending arch,

They do not think whom they souse with spray.



Fig. 5 Portrait of Walt Whitman, 1887–88 Oil on canvas, 30 x 24" Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia

Admittedly, even as one recognizes a certain similarity of spirit, such comparisons also emphasize their differences. Yet surely Thomas Eakins could not but have found echoes of his own experience in the poet's haunting lines from Section 19:

Do you take it I would astonish? Does the daylight astonish? does the early redstart twittering through the woods?

Do I astonish more than they?

Having such a venerable and distinguished creative figure to serve as an example—one who shared so many of his visions and outlooks, one who could be approached easily if only because of his failing health—must have been of inestimable importance in the reaffirmation, when most he needed it, of the painter's own self-confidence.

Eakins's Sobriety of Spirit and Seriousness of Quest

Thomas Eakins's attitude was far removed from that of a mystic; he was the exact opposite. As his steady development and his arduous teaching methods amply prove, he was notably

down-to-earth. His singleminded involvement in the task at hand repeatedly presented problems to those who were not deeply committed to him. He was unyielding in his pursuit of truth as he saw it; in no way was compromise part of his temperament. William J. Clark had recognized this very early, in his sensitive review of The Gross Clinic: "His aim . . . is to represent, as near as is possible with the pigments at command, the absolute facts of nature, and a misrepresentation of facts for the purpose of pleasing the eyes of those who do not know what nature looks like is something that his method does not contemplate."68 That his sitters should have found this attitude trying is not a surprise; as William Sartain observed: "In no case did Eakins deviate from a truthful rendering of his model as he saw it for the purpose of gaining popular favor."69

Having spent the greatest part of his life in a sober household probably contributed substantially to Eakins's literal outlook. The family setting that had been shown in his early pictures remained largely unchanged throughout his life. The Mount Vernon Street parlor, painted in *The Chess Players* (fig. 2) with a precision suggesting great affection, was a characteristic middle-class room of the period. It was comfortable and formal, by no means as cluttered as many interiors of the day; its furnishings had largely been acquired when the house was new, with little, if any, inherited from ear-

lier days.

The spirit of the household is more difficult to establish. The Quaker background of his mother's family must in turn have nurtured Eakins's quiet courtesy and sympathetic interest; the frank honesty evident throughout his life may well stem from this background. Although their father had been "a stern Quaker," 70 his mother and her sister Eliza were much more relaxed, even permitting themselves occasionally a charming frivolity of detail in their dress, and probably also in their manner. While the extent of its influence is difficult to establish, the formalities of the Quaker way of life were evident in his life from time to time. On October 3, 1883, Eakins and his wife-to-be acted as witnesses at the Quaker wedding of young friends,⁷¹ and when a few months later they too were married, it was in Quaker fashion. Indeed, the willingness with which Thomas Eakins devoted endless hours to those in need-one thinks of his friendship in Paris with his mute fellow student, Harry Moore; of his dedicated support of the failing Schussele; or of his affection for the painter George W.

Holmes, who in later years became blind—may well be seen as a reflection of the particular concern for others characteristic of the Quaker outlook.

While it is known that Benjamin Eakins was of Irish background, nothing is known of his upbringing. One senses that he must have been somewhat dour if sympathetic. McHenry, whose information on the household is based on the recollections of Samuel Murray and his wife, writes that he "was courtly and dignified and didn't like talk at the dinner table. His wishes were more or less respected until after he had left. . . . As soon as he had gone, the young folks at the table would lose no time in whooping it up and generally making merry. Once Benjamin Eakins came back abruptly for something he had forgotten, and the silence that fell on the table Murray remembered for life."72 Yet, according to McHenry, Murray also observed dolefully, "After Benjamin Eakins died, everything was different."73 At first, the charm and liveliness of Susan Eakins must have brought a gayer spirit to the household. However, the evidence of later photographs suggests a puzzling and sad change of personality; her furrowed face, painted as well by the artist at the turn of the century, presents a concerned, possibly even insecure, person, far removed from earlier descriptions of her. Curiously enough, one knows very little about the Eakinses' relationship, but it is clear that never did Susan Eakins waver in her firm commitment to her husband's reputation.

One suspects that Eakins must have been a moody, at times quite deeply depressed person. Given his father's sternness and the considerable personality fluctuations of his mother implied by her difficulty with "mania," this would be understandable. Certainly the depressed state of mind that led to his decision to spend two months in the Dakotas is an indication of this. It is interesting to note that Philadelphia's two distinguished doctors dealing with nervous diseases—Dr. Horatio Wood and Dr. S. Weir Mitchell—were acquaintances at least, and Wood must have been a friend; each owned works by him, while the ranch that had played such a major role in Eakins's recovery was

owned in part by Dr. Wood.⁷⁴

The "deep earnestness" that his pupil Charles Bregler speaks of, the "thoughtful and serious expression"⁷⁵ clearly recorded in Susan Eakins's portrait of her husband (frontispiece), painted with the aid of a photograph, are supported by the information we have on Eakins's intellectual pursuits. While Mrs. Eakins was



Fig. 6 Cowboys in the Bad Lands, 1888 Oil on canvas, 32½ x 45" Private collection (Courtesy of Sotheby Parke Bernet)

fond of novels, reading does not seem to have played an important part in her husband's life, and those books that he did have reflected more his great love of languages. This delight is found in his letters in Italian and French and even more in his fascination with the intricacies of correct Latin, evident in the various complicated inscriptions on his works, which show the same precision of method found in his teaching.

Similarly, his ability to spend hours on experimentation to assure full understanding of a particular problem—for example, his perspective research, his alternative experiments to those of Muybridge on the study of animal movement (see no. 58), or his minute examination of as small a detail as "The Differential Action of Certain Muscles Passing More than One Joint" in the paper he read before the Academy of Natural Sciences in 1894—is a fundamental key to understanding his personality. This characteristic intensity of quest for absolute precision is marvelously documented in the series of letters he wrote to Professor Henry A. Rowland;⁷⁶ they record his willingness to travel all the way to Seal Harbor in Maine for his likeness of Rowland and then to go to Baltimore to make studies of the diffraction grating, the instrument for which the scientist was well known and which Eakins included in his painting.⁷⁷

Perhaps Sadakichi Hartmann, who had dedicated his essay on Walt Whitman to Eakins, most effectively grasped the artist's personality when he wrote in 1901: "It is as refreshing as a whiff of the sea, to meet with such a rugged, powerful personality. Eakins, like Whitman, sees beauty in everything. He does not always succeed in expressing it, but all his pictures impress one by their dignity and unbridled masculine power." He continued, however, to observe the man: "And yet, with all his sturdy, robust appearance, he is as naïve and awkward as a big child that has grown up too fast, and his eyes have the far-away look of the dreamer. Indeed a quaint, powerful personality!"⁷⁸

Eakins's Outlook

One can be sure that Eakins returned from his studies in France with high hopes for considerable success, yet one wonders how he envisaged that success. Clearly he did not expect to paint the usual academic subjects based upon the classical or medieval past nor, for that matter, the Near Eastern themes much favored by the French academicians. His few attempts along these lines were never developed beyond preliminary sketches, for subjects far removed from his immediate experience were meaningless. Finatead, given the evidence of his early works, he probably planned to emulate the example of his younger French contemporaries and paint scenes of contemporary life, ones which in their attitude would have a grandeur of outlook far transcending the narration and sentimentality of the lesser genre painters of the day.

Certainly in his early years Eakins was optimistic. Clearly he had been disappointed with his lack of his sales when with a certain insouciance, he wrote Earl Shinn early in 1876: "The anxiety I once had to sell is diminishing. My works are already up to the point where they are worth a good deal and pretty soon the money must come."80 Eakins counted upon portraiture as a fallback, depending upon it as the reliable source of income all American artists had found it to be since the earliest days of the Colonies. His great satisfaction with the portrait of Dr. Gross (The Gross Clinic) must have been based on his recognition that in this remarkable statement he had carried portraiture far beyond the traditional limitations of a likeness; he had created instead an epic statement in which the grand manner, traditionally associated with classical or biblical themes, was brought to bear on a contemporary scene of everyday life.

However, it can be no surprise that subsequently Eakins should have been disappointed in his high hopes and expectations. He was a demanding artist, insisting upon long, strenuous hours from his sitters as he worked out each nuance of every detail of a composition. An artist who had observed that painting a hand was quite as difficult as catching a face would certainly make the creation of a portrait a trying experience. His discovery in 1880 of the usefulness of the camera at times reduced the strain for his sitters, but, nonetheless, undertaking to sit for a likeness by Eakins was not a decision to be taken lightly. Even so, his sitters—even those who were friends frequently found the results of his work unsatisfactory. In fact, it is not without irony that some sitters refused to accept their portraits even as gifts!

Eakins was not prepared to treat his subjects with the amiability or grace so many desired; instead, he insisted upon scrutinizing each person he painted, seeking to discover the particu-



Fig. 7 Miss Amelia Van Buren, c. 1889–91 Oil on canvas, 45 x 32" The Phillips Collection Washington, D.C.

lar idiosyncrasies so often overlooked by society. The young man who wrote these words to Emily Sartain in 1867 would in later years be a rather harsh observer of his sitters: "I easily forgive any amount of folly which springs only from want of sense and is not mixed with ill nature. But what I hate is imposition & hypocrisy and affectation."81

Records of his methods indicate that this somber artist put every ounce of effort into the ercation of his work and had no extra energy to beguile his sitters. That those seeking a portrait should have preferred to turn to the flair and style—not to mention the urbane companionship—of such contemporary portraitists as John Singer Sargent and Cecilia Beaux (and on those occasions when he did portraits, William Merritt Chase), or even to such of Eakins's own pupils as Frank Linton or John McClure Hamilton, can be readily understood. Certainly it would require an assured personality such as Mrs. Gillespie (no. 91) or Mrs. Frishmuth (no. 100) or analytical individuals such as the various doctors whom he painted with such grandeur, to face willingly the artist's piereing analysis.



Fig. 8 The Thinker: Portrait of Louis N. Kenton, 1900 Oil on canvas, 82 x 42" The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Kennedy Fund, 1917

Certain works were painted with an awe-some facility. These, for the most part, were likenesses of those with whom he felt a considerable sense of ease or identification, for example, some of the portraits of his father-in-law; his portraits of Leslie Miller (no. 103) and of Louis Kenton, called *The Thinker* (fig. 8); or the marvelous relaxed portrait of Suzanne Santje (no. 105). Other portraits, among them some of the finest, were the result of painful work and rework. X-rays reveal that in even as grand a late work as the portrait of Mrs. Frismuth, the head was painted and repainted before the strength of the personality was finally captured.

There can be no question that his justified pride in a portrait as understated as The Thinker⁸² was based upon the recognition that he had successfully conveyed a sense of time suspended. The pause in time had always been a difficulty for him: years before, Gérôme had criticized the awkwardness of his painting of a rower in mid-stroke (the master had felt the rower should be painted at the beginning or the end of the stroke), while clearly the unresolved anomaly of The Swimming Hole was the suspended diving figure. Hours of study had been invested in the painting of Fairman Rogers's horses; yet, even there, the problem had not been quite correctly resolved. Suggesting a precise moment had been a constant concern in his work even as he faced the frustration of trying to capture spontaneity of action. Thus the virtual elimination of extreme motion combined with the intense evocation of personality—Eakins developed a splendid skill in expressing through every part of the body the dominant character of an individual—make the late full-length portraits convincing statements far transcending the limitations of time.

Taken as a group the extraordinary portraits created during the last decade of his creativity—a series without equal in the history of American art—justify the validity of his teaching method even as they are vivid proof of his own conquest of earlier difficulties. He had indeed finally arrived at the "living thinking acting men, whose faces tell their life long story" that as a young student he had so admired in Gérôme's work.

On the basis of contemporary reactions and of photographs taken of sitters, as well as a calculation of the age of the sitters at the time of their portraits, it becomes apparent that in the process of suggesting their inner cares or concerns, Eakins frequently made his subjects seem older than their years. Compare, for example, the charming photograph of Amelia Van Buren (no. 81) with the sensitive portrait painted at the same time (fig. 7). In later years, the discrepancy often became greater: that Helen Parker should have been so deeply disturbed about her appearance as Eakins painted it in The Old-Fashioned Dress (no. 113) is easily understood when one sees that contemporary photographs show her as an amiable, placid young woman.84 That Eakins at times consciously approached his sitters wishing considerable freedom in making the likeness was attested to by the wife of Walter Copeland Bryant: "Mr. Eakins asked Mr. Bryant if he could take all the liberty he wanted to do a fine piece of work as a work of art rather than a likeness. He thought Mr. Bryant too youthful looking and said in fifty years nobody would know. . . . **85 And history has shown that the artist was correct: the appearance of increased age that initially disturbed family and friends is

forgotten with time.

Velázquez is known to have been the old master most enthusiastically admired by the young Eakins. However, in considering the highly subjective perceptions so clearly evident in the finest of his late portraits, for example, that of Mrs. Dodge (no. 92) or even more so, of Mrs. Mahon, 86 the achievement of the mature Rembrandt, whom Eakins also admired, comes to mind. Surely the key to these extraordinary works is the realization that Eakins does indeed transcend the limitations of a likeness to create instead a much broader human statement in which one sees the sitter in terms of his environment and his experience.

Ironically, it is the extraordinary insight and interpretation so mistrusted in his day that has become the basis for Eakins's fame. Gone are the facile tricks found in the early portraits, such as the cacophony of textures surrounding Dr. Rand⁸⁷ or the blood on Dr. Gross's hands. Instead, the force of personality, suggested with an astonishing degree of understatement in each detail and in each nuance of movement, becomes the dominant note of the late works. Considered study of these paintings, pondering the personality evident in each face, the extraordinary variety of expression in the hands, can leave no doubt that the synthesis Eakins doggedly sought did in fact occur, in all likelihood because of, rather than in spite of, his difficulties. Once again Walt Whitman's perception seems aptly expressed: "Eakins would not be appreciated by the artists, so-called—the professional elects: the people who like Eakins best are the people who have no art prejudices to interpose. Eakins is essentially a god man not a school man."88

Rumors and Misunderstandings

Eakins's methods as an artist were certainly trying. Probably quite as difficult—possibly even more so, given the mores of the day—were the rumors of curious, if not improper, behavior surrounding the artist. Faced with the mystery nurtured by discretion and believing that not only documents⁸⁹ but also his works—notably a number of photographs of his students unclothed—have been destroyed, to-



Fig. 9 Portrait of Frank B.A. Linton, 1904 Oil on canvas, 24 x 20½" Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

day's scholar has a difficult time trying to steer a clear course through such innuendos.

Certainly this oft-quoted remark to his father has been open to misinterpretation: "I can conceive of few circumstances wherin I would have to make [i.e., paint] a woman naked but if I did I wouldnt mutilate her for double the money. She is the most beautiful thing there is [in] the world except a naked man but I never yet saw a study of one exhibited. It would be a godsend to see a fine man model painted in a studio with the bare walls, alongside of the smiling smirking goddesses of waxy complexion amidst the delicious arsenic green trees and gentle wax flowers & purling streams a running melodious up & down the hills especially up."90 The series of photographs—puzzling to today's eyes—showing Eakins's male students nude, out-of-doors, wrestling, swimming, and struggling in tug-of-war have as well encouraged speculations that seem totally unfounded. Curiously enough, the sophistication of a post-Freudian age finds it almost impossible to grasp how relatively innocent were the attitudes of an earlier era.

In so many ways Eakins was a remarkably simple person and, once concentrated upon an issue or a question, it would seem he was quite unable to consider the implications of his actions. It has, for example, been said that his services at the Academy were terminated because of his insistence "on the exposure of the entire figure" as he lectured. While this was the declared reason, the incident was little more than an excuse for action long threatened. One can easily understand how the incident occurred: deeply involved in his disquisition, to have removed without thinking an unnecessary detail impeding the progress of his reasoning is exactly what one would have expected of Eakins. He had studied the human anatomy so intimately that for him, not unlike a doctor, it was devoid of romance; it was a fact.

Although Eakins had been opposed to spending lengthy hours studying the ideal proportions of classical sculpture, he was deeply concerned that his students should have the opportunity to know the human form at its very best. In 1887, feeling that the models provided by the Academy were "coarse, flabby, ill formed & unfit in every way," Eakins had petitioned the Committee on Instruction to advertise for models who had "forms fit to be studied."92 With a characteristic consistency, therefore, very much as he spent hours creating casts of parts of the body to explain muscles and bones (see no. 36), he encouraged his students to become involved in photographing nude figures chosen for their ideal proportions;⁹³ at times the models were asked to assume poses reflecting the great masterpieces of the past (see no. 73). Following the regular practice he found in French academic circles, a practice whereby numbers of remarkably frank photographs were widely circulated, he planned that the photographs would be used by his students as aids in developing their knowledge of human anatomy.94 Many of these photographs have apparently been destroyed, and thus one cannot assess Eakins's intended program with any method. Recently, however, a group of photographs showing young men and women in a studio setting, some nude, some in classical costume, in all likelihood his students, emerged on the market;95 these would seem to provide a more balanced perspective on the widely known photographs of young men.

At issue was the fact that students, particularly young women, should have been asked to pose nude. 96 Frank Stephens, Eakins's former student and his brother-in-law, certainly contributed to the artist's difficulties. The list of women students who had posed nude for Eakins that Stephens, with two or three others, including Anshutz, had prepared and submit-

ted to the Academy's directors is said to have been a significant factor in the decision to terminate Eakins. The artist's own "comprehensive" statement, written to the proper but highly professional Emily Sartain shortly after his resignation, presents his own defense:

In pursuance of my business and professional studies, I use the naked model.

A number of my women pupils have for economy studied from each others' figures, and of these some have obtained from time to time my criticism on their work.

I have frequently used as models for myself my male pupils: very rarely female pupils and then only with the knowledge and consent of their mothers.

One of the women pupils, some years ago gave to her lover who communicated it to Mr. Frank Stephens a list of these pupils as far as she knew them, and since that time Mr. Frank Stephens has boasted to witnesses of the power which this knowledge gave him to turn me out of the Academy, the Philadelphia Sketch Club, & the Academy Art Club, and of his intention to drive me from the city. 97

Given his intellectual curiosity and recognizing the intensity of his relationship with his students, it is hardly surprising that rumors should have sprung up around Thomas Eakins. However, to substantiate them or to disprove them today seems virtually impossible.

Whether in fact Eakins played an unfortunate role in the suicide of his neurotic niece, Ella Crowell, will never be proven; however, the balance of her father's judgment in his moment of grief is open to question. Certainly Weda Cook, who is known to have abruptly ceased posing for *The Concert Singer* (no. 78) because of stories she was told about the artist's behavior, later believed them to be untrue.

At various times it has been suggested—implied may be the better word—that Eakins had affairs with women in his classes. This seems most improbable, and there is no actual evidence to support such rumors. One must not forget the strict rectitude of his family household; that, and Eakins's own thoughtful concern for others, would seem to refute the suggestion of cavalier wantonness. It is difficult to believe that the young man who wrote his father with such an ingenuous spirit, "I love sunlight and children and beautiful women and men, their heads and hands, and most everything I see, and some day I expect to paint



Fig. 10 William Rush and His Model, 1907–8 Oil on canvas, 35½ x 47½" Honolulu Academy of Arts. Gift of Friends of the Academy, 1947

them as I see them,"98 later became radically changed in character, however much he may have been hurt. That the young man who was so repelled by the grandeur of Rubens should have become a spirited sensualist in later years also seems most unlikely. Probably Eakins should himself have the final word on this subject: "As regards the infamous lies that were circulated and which imposed upon some people who should have known better, any of them are easily disproved to any one who takes the trouble to find out."99

Eakins's Work and Contemporary Taste

A factor that has not been sufficiently considered in assessing the evolution of Eakins's reputation is that when he returned to Philadelphia in 1870, having been trained in an impeccably solid academic tradition, that tradition was already becoming retardataire. Even so, Gérôme's aesthetic principles were to remain paramount in Eakins's work for the rest of his life, as he unswervingly carried on the realist tradition of French academicism in America.

Ironically, even as he remained true to this tradition, the more adventurous figures in the European and American art world were enthusiastically examining a succession of quite different modes of expression. Never before in the history of art had the forms of art changed with such rapidity. By the end of the 1870s a complete shift in attitude was clearly evident in the more advanced circles of the French art world. The work of Eakins's Philadelphia compatriot Mary Cassatt epitomizes this change. She too had been frustrated in Philadelphia by the Academy's methods of teaching in the early 1860s, and she too had gone to Paris in 1866, and even studied briefly (through privately) with Gérôme; but she quickly turned from that training. Influenced by Edgar Degas, a friend she and Gérôme had in common, she created subjects that were quite different in character from those of the older master. Her pictures might reasonably be considered realistic in their choice of subject, but in their definition of form, and much more important, in their coloring, they reflected the theories of the group of young artists that came to be called the Impressionists. Mary Cassatt, of course, did not

return to work in Philadelphia, and while she did exhibit at the Academy, she enjoyed few sales in the city, having instead a much greater

success in New York and Chicago.

That Thomas Eakins's teaching methods always harked back to his own conservative training rather than responding to the new aesthetic may have been a factor in his forced resignation. Even so, with regard to matters of aesthetics, Philadelphia was a conservative community. The Academy exemplified this reactionary outlook in its reorganization of the classes after Eakins's departure. When the critic W. J. Clark, Jr., wrote to Edward Coates, discussing various possible candidates to take a leadership role in the schools, he suggested most warmly Thomas Hovenden. 100 who had been trained in the same conservative French tradition as Eakins, albeit under Cabanel rather than Gérôme. Hovenden was appointed but his association with the Academy was to be sporadic, and between the time of appointment and his tragic early death, he taught for only three years. Thus it turned out that for the ten years following Eakins's resignation, his pupil Thomas Anshutz was the Academy's leading instructor. While the number of instructors increased, particularly after the 1893 reorganization when the management of the schools finally became the responsibility of the faculty, the instructors were chosen with cautious care from its former students; best known today would be the portrait painter Robert W. Vonnoh and the sculptor Charles Grafly.

Thus the young artists of Philadelphia found more challenging exposure to new ideas elsewhere in the city. Since 1886, Emily Sartain had been in charge of the Philadelphia School of Design for Women (now Moore College of Art). She clearly saw the school functioning in a fashion significantly different from that of the Academy under Eakins: even when she discussed a course as close to Eakins's heart as perspective, she wrote: "The purpose of the Philadelphia School is, above all, to be practical, and our course aims to arouse the intelligence, strengthen the observation, and awaken the artistic perception, rather than to store the memory with rules that can be obtained from any book of reference."101 With remarkable method she developed a varied program: simultaneously her students were exposed to the methodical training of Thomas Eakins through the teaching of his students Alice Barber Stephens and Samuel Murray (retained respectively in 1889 and 1891), 102 even as they enjoyed the challenge of more painterly

methods and newer attitudes toward subject matter through working with the fiery young painter Robert Henri (who joined the staff in 1892), himself trained earlier by Eakins's successors, but at this time deeply influenced by the French Impressionist painter Claude Monet. Indeed, the Charcoal Club, which Henri founded with John Sloan in 1893, established a center for the city's artists that nurtured a whole new movement, which came to be known, because of the ordinary nature of the subjects it so often treated, as the Ashcan School. Yet, in many ways the attitudes evident in the works of this group, scenes of contemporary genre, are not as far removed from the intent of Thomas Eakins's early paintings as they at first may seem to be.

Thus, challenged possibly by the city's other opportunities, in 1896 the Academy made a new appointment reflecting more contemporary tastes, namely that of one of the most ebullient and admired painters of the day, William Merritt Chase. Even so, in choosing this respected artist at this date, the Academy did not move too far from its recent conservative stance. Nonetheless, during the following thirteen years when he commuted weekly from New York, Chase molded the Academy's curriculum and had an admirable influence upon the students. The flexibility with which he encouraged work far removed from his own temperament remains eternally to his credit as a teacher.

The appointment of Chase, whom Eakins already knew, must have been observed with considerable interest by the artist. Because of the influence of the Academy's new managing director, Harrison Morris, who was firmly committed not only to improving finances but also to closing past fissures, Eakins had a few years earlier begun to submit once again to the Academy annuals, exhibiting five paintings in 1891, works obviously chosen to suggest the variety of his abilities as a portrait painter; a sixth, The Agnew Clinic, was rejected on a technicality. 103 It was to be several years however before Eakins, now well launched into the final grand period of his late portraits, was to win one of the Academy's major prizes. Chase won the Academy's recently created Gold Medal of Honor award in 1894 for his Lady with the White Shawl (first exhibited as Portrait of Mrs. C.; Appendix B, fig. 10), which was in turn acquired for the permanent collection. In comparing this picture, a pleasant portrait, with Eakins's similar subject, the portrait of Letitia Wilson Jordan (Appendix в, fig. 11), painted a few

years earlier, it becomes quickly apparent how much it represented everything that Eakins was not prepared to pursue in his own work. A lovely lady, standing firmly with a certain elegance, she epitomized the nineteenth-century image of the American woman as she was seen by her contemporaries. How far removed it is from the neurotic intensity of Letitia Jordan! No particular insight into her character was intended, and the title given to this likeness of Mrs. Chase suggests the great importance attached to the skillful painting of the white shawl. It was not until 1897 that the Academy would purehase its first work by Eakins, The Cello Player, 104 when it was exhibited there, and 1904 that he would win the Academy's Temple Gold Medal.

In their concern for their students and in their willingness to go to considerable lengths to make art training available for all (Chase taught free elasses in Philadelphia in space provided by the public school system), Eakins and Chase were similar. In character they were opposites. Before eoming to Philadelphia, Chase had been a supporter of Eakins. It was through his efforts that Eakins had received a bronze medal for Mending the Net (no. 40) at the World's Columbian Exposition in 1893.¹⁰⁵ Chase deserves eredit as well for three of Eakins's pietures being included in Durand-Ruel's important exhibition of contemporary American art shown at its Paris galleries in 1891,106 and he must have played an active role in having Eakins included in the 1883 Munich exhibition.107 Yet the extent of their friendship during Chase's activity in Philadelphia cannot be established. Eakins painted Chase's portrait, 108 inseribing it "To my friend," and gave him the handsome painting Sailing (no. 20) and also one of the charming Areadian subjects. 109 No evidenee exists to show that Chase gave works to Eakins, although he is said to have painted Eakins's portrait;¹¹⁰ in fact, quite curiously, Chase is even said to have discouraged people from turning to Eakins for a portrait.¹¹¹

In writing of the portrait of Professor George F. Barker (see no. 64), the critic of the New York Times had with admiration recognized how different was Eakins's style from that of his eon-temporaries. To him Eakins was a "strong artist who differs from Sargent, Eaton, Weir, Chase, and the rest. It is not elaborated in a soft or winning style, but painted ruggedly, yet with the utmost truth to nature." Indeed, two of the all too few portrait commissions of the later years presented discouraging difficulties: A. W. Lee paid for his portrait.

while Robert C. Ogden disputed the price and did not even want the picture¹¹⁴ although he finally kept it when Eakins refused to take it back.

Eakins occasionally experimented with different techniques in his later portraits because he recognized that his approach did not respond to contemporary taste. One thinks, for example, of the spirited brushwork in the Macdowell portraits, possibly reflecting the influence of William Merritt Chase, or the portrait of Frank Linton (fig. 9) done in 1904, which in its openness of spirit and its lightness of tonality reflects the methods of John Singer Sargent, who only a year earlier had stormed Philadelphia with such great success. Always, however, Eakins returned to the subdued palette and controlled brushwork stemming from his training under Gérôme.

From an interview with Eakins made in 1914, one gets a fairly clear understanding of Eakins's attitude toward contemporary art in his later years:

Mr. Eakins, on being asked as to who in his opinion was the greatest American painter, replied that to Winslow Homer belonged that place. "Whistler," he said, "was unquestionably a great painter, but there are many of his works for which I do not care."

On the point of the new impressionistie, futurist and cubist movements in art Mr. Eakins laughed these away. "They are all nonsense," he said, "and no serious student should occupy his time with them. He who would sueeeed must work along the beaten path first and then gradually, as he progresses, try to add something new but sane, something which arises out of the new realities of life and not out of the hysterical imaginations of pathological temperament."

One wonders, even, whether Eakins might have traveled to New York the year before to see the Armory Show.

When one considers the degree to which Eakins was a *cause célèbre* in the 1880s, it becomes even more astonishing to see the rapidity with which he dropped from sight. The puzzled hostess who, in 1903, wishing to respond to the request of Sargent, had nonetheless to admit she could not introduce the lionized portraitist to the Philadelphia painter because she did not know who Eakins was;¹¹⁶ the students at the Academy who did not know his work, and so were taken to the Mount Vernon Street house by Beatrice Fenton;¹¹⁷ Charles Sheeler

who watched the unknown man paint the portrait of Leslie Miller (no. 103) with such precision—these indicate the degree to which Eakins was unknown. And when he was known, he was quite methodically ignored. The Academy, for example, initially refused to consider a memorial exhibition following his death in 1916 and acceded only after observing the success of a similar show at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.

Very near the end of his life, in 1914, when he had eeased to paint and was exceedingly infirm, Eakins briefly attracted public attention again. On the advice of Robert Henri, the emerging young eollector Dr. Albert Barnes had purehased for the seemingly astronomical sum of \$4,000, the preliminary portrait of Dr. Agnew, done years earlier. When the portrait was shown at the Aeademy annual that year, where Barnes purchased it, The Philadelphia Press sent a reporter to interview the artist. In responding to the questions, Eakins clearly presented what had become his own artistic philosophy: "If America is to produce great painters and if young art students wish to assume a place in the history of the art of their country, their first desire should be to remain in America, to peer deeper into the heart of American life. . . . to study their own country and portray its life and types. To do that they must remain free from any foreign superficialities."118 And this freedom is exactly what he had achieved in his own work. Indeed, with time his work has eome to be revered for the honesty and the understanding of its perceptions; for many it eaptures the American experience in its finest visual expression.

In turn, as he mused with the *Press* reporter, Thomas Eakins identified what was to become the eourse that American art would take by the mid-twentieth century, a eourse emulating in so many ways his own arduous route: "Americans must branch out into their own fields. . . . They must strike out for themselves, and only by doing this will we create a great and distinctly American art."

Notes

- 1. Quoted by Susan Eakins in an undated letter to her great-nieee Peggy (Mary Elizabeth Macdowell Walters), which was kindly brought to our attention by Susan P. Casteras. Editor's Note: This letter was reproduced by the North Cross School Living Gallery, Roanoke, Virginia, in the exhibition catalogue Thomas Eakins, Susan Macdowell Eakins, Elizabeth Macdowell Kenton (September 18—October 2, 1977, pp. 62–63).
- 2. In the letter to her great-nieee Peggy, eited above, Susan Eakins wrote: "It is well to know that he despised special mentions or prizes, he considered they were presented by people, who without knowledge of subject, gave preference to such applicants, who would be a credit by reason of family standing or wealth, rather than superior intelligence."
- 3. Years later, Eakins's Academy eolleague Earl Shinn, writing in The Art Amateur under the pen name Sigma, recalled the exceedingly modest training they had received: "Students were permitted to draw from the cast in the daytime all the year round, and on three evenings in the week, during six months in each year. . . . From the first of October to the last of April, the students who were regarded as being sufficiently advanced, drew from the living model when one was procurable. No instruction was provided, but the older students assisted their juniors to the best of their ability." There were also lectures on anatomy "by a physician who had no great opinion of the requirements of a congregation of art students" ("A Philadelphia Art School," vol. 10, no. 2, January 1884, p. 32).
- Goodrich 18 reverse.
- 5. See letter of Earl Shinn to his sister (probably Elizabeth), November 10, 1866 (Richard T. Cadbury Papers, Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College, Pennsylvania). At issue was the acceptance of foreigners in general, not just Americans, at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts.
- 6. Goodrieh, p. 16.
- 7. Quoted in Goodrich, p. 22.
- 8. Quoted in McHenry, p. 17.
- 9. Lloyd Goodrieh has kindly made available a transcript of notes Eakins made during his stay in Spain.
- 10. Quoted in McHenry, p. 17.
- 11. Quoted in McHenry, p. 70.
- 12. "Thomas Eakins as a Teacher," *The Arts*, vol. 17, no. 6 (March 1931), p. 385.
- 13. Susan Eakins to her great-nieee Peggy, eited above.

- 14. Letter dated December 14, 1934 (Joslyn Art Museum, Omaha, Archives).
- 15. William C. Brownell, "The Art Schools of Philadelphia," *Scribner's Monthly*, vol. 18, no. 5 (September 1879), p. 738.
- 16. Quoted in Goodrich, p. 25.
- 17. Quoted in Goodrich, p. 26.
- 18. Indeed, one wonders whether but for the influence of Fairman Rogers, the chairman of the Committee on Instruction, Eakins might not have virtually eliminated the time spent with casts. In his article, "The Schools of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts" (*The Penn Monthly*, vol. 12, June 1881, p. 454), Rogers succinctly stated Eakins's position: "The present Professor of Painting has a strong feeling that a really able student should go early into the life class, and, if he deems best to do so, go back to the antique, from time to time, later, to compare his work with it, on the principle that work from nature is more useful than that from a copy of nature, however great."
- 19. Quoted in Goodrich, p. 16.
- 20. Rogers, cited above, p. 454.
- 21. In his autobiography, A. Stirling Calder recalled his student days at the Academy: "Following his theory beginners were very soon advanced from antique drawing to the life class. So after a few weeks' drawing from the antique cast, I was told I might enter the life class." (Thoughts of A. Stirling Calder on Art and Life, New York, 1947, p. 3).
- 22. Quoted in Brownell, cited above, p. 741.
- 23. Quoted in Brownell, cited above, p. 742.
- 24. Brownell, cited above, p. 747.
- 25. Quoted in Brownell, cited above, p. 745.
- 26. Quoted in Brownell, cited above, p. 750.
- 27. McHenry, p. 54. On February 23, 1886, shortly after his resignation, Eakins wrote J. Laurie Wallace: "I have often thought differently from others but my heart was open to my friends. I never deceived any one or tried to. I have put myself out to help along in their work my worthy students."
- 28. Rogers, cited above, p. 453.
- 29. Brownell, cited above, p. 750.
- 30. Six years later, on February 22, 1886, this was recalled by Clark in a letter to Edward H. Coates (PAFA Archives).
- 31. See Louise Lippincott, "Thomas Eakins and the Academy," in *In This Academy: The Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts*, 1805–1976 (Philadelphia, 1976), pp. 176–78. An earlier expression of concern is documented in the PAFA Archives, when a

- student, Anna Sellers, wrote to Catherine Ann Drinker, the class secretary for the ladies' life class, on November 27, 1877, reporting her discussions with a variety of women about the Academy's practice, "all of whom were shocked to find we had introduced the Europian Custom of the entire nudeness of our female model." She asks, "Would it not be better to have some sleight drapery?"
- 32. Eakins to Harrison Morris, April 23, 1894 (PAEA Archives).
- 33. The Philadelphia Evening Bulletin, February 19, 1886.
- 34. Rogers, cited above, p. 458.
- 35. Petition of Committee on Instruction to Board of Directors, read at meeting of Board of Directors, October 8, 1883 (PAFA Archives).
- 36. William J. Clark, Jr., in his letter of February 22, 1886, to Edward H. Coates, cited above, referred to an article appearing in the *Times* of the previous day: "There was some talk of a number of instructors at the Academy who would teach portaiture, landscape and so on as distinct branches." Opposing such specialization, he urged that the Academy continue "the French system of instruction."
- 37. McHenry, pp. 62–64; Lippincott, cited above, p. 177.
- 38. In Eakins's letter of April 8, 1885, to the Board of Directors of the Academy, asking for his promised salary, he wrote: "It was not contemplated that the expenses of the whole school would be paid by the pupils, the price for tuition being kept very low." He added, "The school is full, probably as full as it should be . . ." (PAFA Archives).
- 39. The Evening Item of February 18, 1886, discussed the Academy's finances, stating first, as did other newspapers, that the schools had a deficit of \$7,000, and then: "It has been clear from the first... that as the school cannot be made self-supporting under Mr. Eakins, a change was not only advisable but positively necessary." Its lack of sympathy for the artist is clear in the final sentence of the story: "As for Mr. Eakins, does anyone imagine he will not sink into obscurity and leave the city?"
- 40. Report of the Committee on Instruction, Annual Report for 1886–87, read and accepted February 7, 1887 (PAFA Archives).
- 41. Cecilia Beaux, Background with Figures (Boston and New York, 1930), p. 96.
- 42. Quoted in Goodrich, p. 26.
- 43. William Sartain, "Thomas Eakins," *The Art World*, vol. 3 (January 1918), p. 293.
- 44. McHenry, p. 15.
- 45. Goodrich, p. 10.

- 46. Quoted in McHenry, p. 9.
- 47. Phyllis D. Rosenzweig, *The Thomas Eakins Collection of the Hirsbhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden* (Washington, D.C., 1977), pp. 114–15.
- 48. Goodrich, p. 72.
- 49. Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Daniel W. Dietrich H.
- 50. Eakins to Board of Directors, April 8, 1885, cited above.
- 51. Hendricks, *Life*, p. 243. The value of the estate at the time of the artist's death was \$33,805.61. However, in 1942, when this estate was being closed following the death on May 14, 1941, of Mary Adeline Williams, the last beneficiary, a new valuation of \$62,003.08 was given (The Fidelity Bank). The difference in the value of the estate was largely the result of the increased prices Eakins's works were commanding.
- 52. Hendricks, Life, p. 4.
- 53. September 18, 1866 (PAFA Archives). This letter, written in Italian, uses the phrase "mio buon padre e la dolce mamma mia."
- 54. In the Hirshhorn Museum; see Rosenzweig, cited above, pp. 35-37.
- 55. Lippincott (cited above, p. 266 n 7) refers to a letter from Rebeeea Fussell to her daughter Molly dated Ap 2nd [1871]: "Tom Eaken had been at home since July 4th. Since early autumn he has never spent an evening from home as it worried his Mother & since her return home they never leave her a minute—."
- 56. The attending physician was Dr. William P. Moon (City Archives of Philadelphia, Record Series 76.21, Death Register 1860–1903). In 1874, Dr. Moon was affiliated with the Pennsylvania Hospital for the Insane. J. Thomas's *Comprehensive Medical Dictionary* (Philadelphia, 1870, p. 316) defines mania as "delirium unaecompanied by fever; madness."
- 57. There is little record of Susan Eakins participating with her husband in his various activities. Beatriee Fenton, the young artist whom Eakins painted in 1904, recalls that Mrs. Eakins was rarely seen, remaining very much in the background. Certainly in later years when Eakins frequently made expeditions with Samuel Murray, there are few references to his attending gatherings or other events with his wife.
- 58. The principal source on the work of Mrs. Eakins is PAFA, *Susan Macdowell Eakins*, 1851–1938 (May +—June 10, 1973).
- 59. In two letters from his student days, copies of which are in the files of Lloyd Goodrich, Eakins expresses his great wish to have children.

- 60. Contrary to the generally accepted understanding that Eakins was never permitted to see his Crowell nephews and nieces again, school records show that young Ben Crowell continued to use 1729 Mount Vernon Street as his address while studying at the Academy during the two years following his sister's death.
- 61. Eakins to his sister Fanny, undated (Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.).
- 62. With the exception of replicas, variants, preliminary studies, and genre subjects, there were only a few exceptions to this: two pictures each of Weda Cook, Addie Williams, and Monsignor Turner (in each ease, the two being painted within a short time of each other but showing a quite different understanding of personality); two portraits each of General Cadwalader, Admiral Melville, and Franklin Schenck (in contrast to the previous pairs mentioned, these do not suggest any evolution of perception or understanding); and three of his father and two of his wife, in each case painted several years apart.
- 63. Jean-Léon Gérôme to Thomas Eakins, September 18, 1874 (transcript, in French, kindly supplied by Lloyd Goodrich).
- 64. Years later, in 1948, Cardinal Dougherty wrote about the artist in response to Sir Shane Leslie's inquiries: "He told me he was a man who didn't believe in the divinity of Christ; whether or not he was an atheist I have not heard. He seemed to be an amiable character." The letter, in the archives of the Cathedral of SS. Peter and Paul in Philadelphia, was kindly brought to our attention by Mrs. Harry F. Boylan.
- 65. Quoted in Horace Traubel, With Walt Whitman in Camden, vol. 4 (Philadelphia, 1953), p. 155.
- 66. Quoted in Horaee Traubel, With Walt Whitman in Camden, vol. 1 (New York, 1915), p. 153.
- 67. In his autobiography, *Unforgotten Years* (Boston, 1939, p. 97), the Philadelphia Quaker Logan Pearsall Smith speaks of Whitman's dubious reputation, observing that "our neighbors and relations avoided our [Germantown] house, and forbade their ehildren to visit it, when it was known that Walt Whitman was staying with us."
- 68. The Philadelphia Evening Telegraph, April 28, 1876.
- 69. Sartain, cited above, p. 293.
- 70. MeHenry, p. 4. However, Eakins's maternal grandmother was an Episcopalian.
- 71. The wedding of Henry Piteher Brown and Anne Gertrude Taylor. The eertificate of marriage is in the possession of Dr. Henry P. Brown III, Enfield, New Hampshire.

- 72. McHenry, pp. 125-26.
- 73. Quoted in McHenry, p. 125.
- 74. According to Dr. Bernard Perry Ottenberg, these Philadelphia doctors working in the as yet uncharted area of nervous diseases were men of considerable national reputation. Dr. Wood held a clinical professorship concentrating upon the study of nervous diseases at the University of Pennsylvania from 1873 to 1901; in 1887 he published Nervous Diseases and Their Diagnosis. Dr. Mitchell, a widely admired doctor, writer, and patron of the arts (both Sargent and Saint-Gaudens made fine portraits of him), lent Eakins the Philadelphia Chippendale chair attributed to Affleck that is shown in the foreground of William Rush Carving His Allegorical Figure of the Schuykill River (no. 28). An extended stay at some remote spot was a favored treatment of the day for people in a state of depression. R.W.B. Lewis in Edith Wharton: A Biography (New York, 1975, pp. 82-84) recounts how effectively such a treatment under Mitchell's supervision helped Edith Wharton overcome a serious depression in 1898. In 1883, Dr. Wood wrote an article on the therapeutic value of such trips ("The Southwest as a Health Resort," Philadelphia Medical Times, vol. 14, 1883, pp. 18-20).
- 75. Bregler, cited above, pp. 381, 379.
- 76. The correspondence is in the Addison Gallery of American Art, Phillips Academy, Andover, Massachusetts.
- 77. Goodrich 264.
- 78. Sadakichi Hartmann, A History of American Art (Boston, 1901), vol. 1, pp. 203–7.
- 79. Early in his career, he did a watercolor (Goodrich 42, destroyed) and an oil (unfinished; Goodrich 43, Hirshhorn Museum) of Hiawatha and a compositional study, *Columbus in Prison* (Goodrich 103; Kennedy Galleries, New York); later, he did sketches for a *Phidias Studying for the Frieze of the Parthenon* (Goodrich 255). And even though he painted various Arcadian subjects in 1884, the finished masterpiece of that series brought Arcadia firmly to the present by representing the artist swimming with five of his students and his beloved setter Harry.
- 80. Probably March 1876 (Richard T. Cadbury Papers, Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College, Pennsylvania).
- 81. December 20, 1867 (PAFA Archives).
- 82. Eakins had hoped that the Metropolitan Museum of Art would purchase this painting, which they did only later, after his death (see Goodrich, p. 139).
- 83. Eakins to his sister Frances, April 1, 1869 (courtesy Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.).
- 84. Hendricks, Life, fig. 293.

- 85. Quoted in Goodrich, p. 195, no. 372.
- 86. Goodrich 407.
- 87. Goodrich 85.
- 88. Quoted in Traubel, vol. 1, cited above, p. 266.
- 89. Material known to have existed is missing today; whether it has been destroyed or only kept from view is not known. Goodrich reports that there were times when Mrs. Eakins copied sections of letters for him but did not let him read the complete documents. Some of those letters have since become available, and it is hoped others will eventually emerge. Nonetheless, various records must have been destroyed when the Mount Vernon Street house was rapidly cleared out just after Mrs. Fakins's death.
- 90. Thomas Eakins to Benjamin Eakins, May 9, 1868 (Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Daniel W. Dietrich II).
- 91. The Evening Item, February 22, 1886.
- 92. Dated January 8, 1876, but actually 1877 (PAFA Archives).
- 93. Thomas Anshutz to J. Laurie Wallace, 1884: "The photographing of models takes place at intervals" (typescript, PMA Archives).
- 94. According to the Report of the Committee on Instruction for 1882–83: "A number of photographs of models used in the Life Classes, were made in cases in which the model was unusually good, or had any peculiarity of form or action which would be instructive, and a collection of these photographs will thus be gradually made for the use of the students." Published in the circular of the Committee on Instruction for 1883–84 (PAFA Archives).
- 95. Published by the Olympia Galleries (Philadelphia, 1976). Editor's Note: The entire group has been illustrated in the Sotheby Parke Bernet, New York, sale catalogue, The Olympia Galleries: Important Collection of Photographs by Thomas Eakins (November 10, 1977).
- 96. A number of the women whose portraits Eakins painted reported subsequently that he had asked them to pose nude. Alice Kurtz's mother was probably quite correct when she observed: "Tom is an old fool about the nude. He would look at you as if you were an anatomical specimen" (quoted in Schendler, p. 295)—although not too surprisingly Mrs. Kurtz decided it would probably be as wise not to comply with the request.
- 97. March 25, 1886 (PAEA Archives). The intensity of Stephens's campaign is most puzzling. Eakins suggested Emily Sartain use the statement as she chose. Sadly, if understandably, she did nothing, and no voice of reason was then publicly raised. In turn, the Academy's board recorded no specific reasons for its action. Thus today's scholar can only conjecture.

- 98. Quoted in Goodrich, p. 18.
- 99. Eakins to J. Laurie Wallace, June 24, 1886 (Joslyn Art Museum, Omaha, Archives).
- 100. February 22, 1886, cited above.
- 101. Author's emphasis. Emily Sartain, Annual Report for 1886–87, dated June 6, 1887 (in the brochure of the Philadelphia School of Design for Women for 1887-88, p. 54). It should be pointed out that the eity's other leading art school, the School of Industrial Art of the Pennsylvania Museum cannot be viewed in comparison with the Academy or the School of Design for Women since its policy of instruction was quite different: Its purpose was "to furnish such instruction in Drawing, Painting, Modeling, Carving and Designing as is required by designers, superintendents and workmen in the various Constructive and Decorative Arts, and to serve as a Training School for teachers of these branches" (in the eireular of the School of Applied Art for 1894-95, p. 9).
- 102. The Eakins influence is even more clearly evident in Emily Sartain's Annual Report for 1886–87, cited above, pp. 53–54: "The system [of teaching perspective] now used is the one introduced by Mr. Eakins into the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts. It is more simple and more pictorial, and better results are expected."
- 103. It is not without interest in understanding Eakins's attitude toward his work to note that he submitted the five portraits as statements of particular types, i.e., "Portrait of an Artist" (James Wright; Goodrieh 258), "Portrait of a Student" (Samuel Murray; Goodrieh 238, private collection), "Portrait of a Lady" (Letitia Wilson Jordan; Appendix B, fig. II, Goodrieh 222), "Portrait of an Engineer" (Professor Marks; Goodrich 216, Washington University Gallery of Art, St. Louis), and "Portrait of a Poet" (Walt Whitman; fig. 5, Goodrieh 220). Ironieally, he was asked to withdraw *The Agnew Clinic* on the grounds that it had already been exhibited in

Philadelphia even though, as a critic of *The Philadelphia Press* pointed out, watercolors included in the exhibition had also been previously exhibited in the city (see no. 88).

- 104. Goodrich 291.
- 105. Lloyd Goodrich, in a letter to Henri Marceau of November 18, 1930, wrote: "I have a copy of the diploma awarded to Eakins, and signed by Chase as the one-man jury, which I suppose was the only reason that Eakins ever got the award" (PMA Archives).
- 106. In the introduction to Durand-Rucl's eatalogue for its June 1891 "Exposition de Peintres et Sculptures d'Artistes Americains," Theodore Stanton records that the firm "ont trouvé un appui très sympathique chez M. William M. Chase, président de la Société des Artistes americains."
- 107. Katharine Metcalf Roof, The Life and Art of William Merritt Chase (New York, 1917), p. 57.
- 108. Goodrich 330; Hirshhorn Museum.
- 109. Goodrich 196; Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- 110. Goodrich, p. 97.
- 111. Hendricks, Life, p. 241.
- 112. April 8, 1888.
- 113. Goodrieh 427; Reynolda House, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.
- 114. Goodrich 394; Hirshhorn Museum.
- 115. The Philadelphia Press, February 22, 1914.
- 116. Goodrich, p. 129; Hoopes, p. 20. Ironically, fourteen years earlier, Eakins had painted her husband, the much respected Dr. J. William White, in *The Agnew Clinic*.
- 117. Reported by Beatrice Fenton, December 1976.
- 118. The Philadelphia Press, February 22, 1914.

CHRONOLOGY

1843

Benjamin Eakins (born 1818), son of Alexander Eakins (originally Akens), an Irish immigrant who earned his livelihood as an itinerant weaver, marries Caroline Cowperthwait (born about 1820), daughter of Mark, a Quaker cobbler.

1844

July 25: Thomas Cowperthwait Eakins is born at 4 Carrollton Square in Philadelphia.

1848

Sister Frances is born.

1850

Brother Benjamin is born, but lives for only four months.

1853

Enters Zane Street Grammar School, having received the early rudiments of education at home. Sister Margaret is born.

1857

Graduates from Zane Street Grammar School with high grades. *July:* The family purehases house at 1729 Mount Vernon Street. Accepted at Central High School, well-known for its advanced eurriculum and its emphasis on science. The school's drawing course teaches the rudiments of perspective and technique.

1861

July: Graduates from Central High School in a class that has been sharply reduced in size by military enlistments in Civil War. Ranks fifth of fifteen students receiving Bachelor of Arts degrees. Has a four-year average of 88.4 with marks especially high in mathematics, science, and languages, particularly French; receives 100 in drawing each year. Works with his father, a ealligrapher and teacher of penmanship, and possibly continues to do so intermittently until his departure for Europe. Considers medicine as a profession, but chooses instead to become a painter.

1862

September: Competes for position of professor of drawing, writing, and bookkeeping at Central High School but loses to Joseph Boggs Beale. October 7: Registers for Antique elass and anatomy lectures at Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts.

1863

February 23: Registers for life class and lectures on anatomy at Academy. Listed in eity directory as "teacher."

1864

Listed in city directory as "teacher." Starts observing demonstrations of Dr. Joseph Paneoast at Jefferson Medical College.

1865

Sister Caroline is born. Continues work at Aeademy. Apparently works at Philadelphia Sketch Club some time during his student years.

1866

Listed in city directory as "writing-teacher." September 22: Supported by father's firm commitment to his becoming an artist, sails from New York for France on the Pereire. After being officially refused at first, is finally accepted at Ecole des Beaux-Arts; chooses to work in the atelier of Jean-Léon Gérôme.

1867

March: Begins painting for the first time. Some time during his stay in Paris studies modeling with the sculptor Augustin-Alexandre Dumont. Visits Exposition Universelle, expressing particular admiration for the machinery. July-August: Travels in Switzerland with close friends and former Academy classmates William Crowell and William Sartain; they stop in Strasbourg to visit Christian Schussele, a leading figure in the Philadelphia art world, who, the following year, was to become professor of drawing and painting at Academy.

1868

Continues to work hard and finally is satisfied with his ability to become a painter. *July* 4: Father and sister Frances reach Paris and travel with him in Italy, Germany, and Belgium before they return to America in September. *December*: Returns to Philadelphia for Christmas.

1869

March: Returns to Paris. August-September: Works under the painter Léon Bonnat. Considers trip to Algiers "to strengthen my color and to study light." November: After debilitating sickness and depression, goes to Spain. December 1: Arrives in Madrid and then travels to Seville.

Remains in Seville until June, painstakingly creating his first subject picture, the ambitious composition A Street Scene in Seville. Late May: Excursion to Ronda. June: After a fortnight in a politically disturbed Paris, sails for America, reaching Philadelphia by July 4. Establishes studio at 1729 Mount Vernon Street and begins to paint works that draw upon the family circle for subjects. Undertakes the first of the rowing subjects that occupy him for the next three years.

1871

April 26: Exhibits publicly for the first time at Union League's third "Art Reception." After Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts suspends classes awaiting construction of its new building, Christian Schussele establishes private classes, and is possibly assisted by Eakins. Possibly attends meetings of Sketch Club.

1872

June 4: Mother dies. August 15: Sister Frances marries William Crowell.

1873

Registers at Jefferson Medical College for courses in surgery under Dr. Samuel David Gross and anatomy under Dr. Joseph Pancoast and Dr. William Pancoast. Gérôme comments on his "progrès singuliers" evident in the watercolor of a rower sent to him in Paris.

1874

Exhibits at seventh annual exhibition of American Society of Painters in Watercolor; sells first painting, *John Biglin*, or *The Sculler*, for \$80. *April:* Starts conducting evening classes for Sketch Club, continuing until Academy reopens in 1876. Paints first formal portrait, that of Professor Benjamin Howard Rand, formerly an instructor at Central High School, now teaching at Jefferson Medical College. Sends three works to Goupil's in Paris. Becomes engaged to Katherine Crowell (born 1851).

1875

April: Undertakes the most ambitious portrait yet painted in America, *The Gross Clinic*, which is to occupy much of his time for the next six months. Exhibits two paintings in Paris Salon and four at Goupil's in London. Sells *Whistling for Plover* for \$60 through Goupil.

1876

April 22: New building of Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts opens; exhibits in the forty-seventh annual exhibition (continues to exhibit almost every year through 1917). May 16: Centennial Exhibition opens amid widespread enthusiasm. Shows five works in the ambitious art

exhibition, but *The Gross Clinic* is rejected as unsightly, although it is finally shown in the United States Army Hospital exhibit. Begins William Rush Carving His Allegorical Figure of the Schuylkill River, the first of a series of pictures reflecting the Centennial enthusiasm for the early days of America, subjects which occupy him intermittently during the next five years. September: With the commencement of classes at Academy, volunteers his services as assistant to Schussele and as chief demonstrator of anatomy for Dr. William Williams Keen. Susan Hannah Macdowell (born 1851) begins to study at Academy.

1877

May 14: Forced to cease teaching at Academy by its Board's decree that Schussele must not delegate his teaching responsibilities; instead, becomes instructor without pay at Art Students' Union, created by the students to provide a forum for him. Continues, however, to assist Dr. Keen in Academy's anatomy lectures. Exhibits at the fifty-second annual exhibition of National Academy of Design in New York (exhibits sporadically until 1916). Autumn: On commission from Union League, paints portrait of the new president, Rutherford B. Hayes. During the year paints Philadelphia's leading Catholic cleric, Archbishop James Frederick Wood.

1878

March: Exhibits at the first exhibition of Society of American Artists in New York (continues to show work there intermittently until 1906, when it merges with National Academy of Design). When Academy rescinds previous order, volunteers once again as assistant to Schussele. Mutual Assurance Company commissions portrait of General George Cadwalader. Illustrates article for Scribner's Monthly, which commissions works for two other articles in 1879 and 1881. Awarded silver medal at Massachusetts Charitable Mechanics' Association exhibition in Boston for Young Girl Meditating and Negro Boy Dancing.

1879

April 6: Fiancée Katherine Crowell dies. For the first time, is a member of the jury for Academy annual, which unanimously awards Susan Macdowell the new Mary Smith prize given to the best Philadelphia woman painter of the exhibition. June: Influenced by Muybridge's photographic studies of animal locomotion, visits Fairman Rogers in Newport and begins to paint The Fairman Rogers Four-in-Hand. August 21: Schussele dies. Academy's Committee on Instruction, chaired by Rogers, recommends Eakins as professor of drawing and painting for

\$600 a year; accepted by the Board, September 8. Smith College Museum of Art purchases *In Grandmother's Time*.

1880

Becomes deeply involved in teaching at Aeademy. *March:* Delivers the first of his perspective lectures at Aeademy. Probably purchases his first camera. Paints *The Crucifixion*. Joins Society of American Artists. Exhibits in second annual exhibition of Philadelphia Society of Artists.

1881

Using oil sketches done out of doors and photographs reflecting his new interest in landscape, paints seenes at Gloueester on the New Jersey side of the Delaware River. Presents *The Chess Players* to Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.

1882

Starts teaching at Students' Guild of Brooklyn Art Association. February: Academy decides for the first time to charge tuition fees starting in October, hoping thereby to make classes largely self-supporting. Eakins given new title of director with promise that as moneys become available, salary will be raised from \$1,200 to \$2,500. Thomas Anshutz is made assistant professor of painting and drawing. Receives first commission for sculpture from James P. Scott. December 22: Sister Margaret dies.

1883

February: Eadweard Muybridge leetures in Philadelphia. Eakins explores bueolie themes in photographs, reliefs, and paintings, using his students and his sister's ehildren as models. America's most influential private collector, Thomas B. Clarke, commissions Professionals at Rebearsal. November: With Fairman Rogers's resignation as chairman of Committee on Instruction, loses his strongest supporter at Academy. December: At Philadelphia Photographic Society meeting demonstrates a camera of his design equipped with "an ingenious exposer for instantaneous work." Shows three works in the international exhibition at Munich Glaspalast.

1884

January 19: Marries Susan Hannah Macdowell. Moves into 1330 Chestnut Street, former studio of A. B. Frost. Considers resigning from Society of American Artists when his two reliefs Spinning and Knitting are rejected, but is dissuaded by Augustus Saint-Gaudens. March: Appointed to Muybridge eommission. June: Experiments begin in Philadelphia; simultaneously pursues separate photographic studies of motion. Exhibits at World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition in New Orleans.

1885

Sister Caroline marries his student George Frank Stephens. March: Exhibits four works at exhibition of Ontario Society of Artists in Toronto. May 22: Using zoetrope, lectures at Academy on movement of the horse. Devotes much time to Muybridge work and to his teaching, not only at Academy and Brooklyn Art Association (ending with spring term) but also at Art Students' League in New York, where he begins to lecture in November. Completes The Swimming Hole, which is then rejected by Fairman Rogers's successor on the Committee on Instruction, Edward Coates, who had commissioned it two years earlier.

1886

January: Shows at Philadelphia Photographie Society exhibition at Aeademy. February 9: Responding to the request made by Coates representing the wishes of the Board, resigns as director of Academy's sehools and the post is abolished. February 18: Some forty Aeademy students establish Art Students' League of Philadelphia. July: A fortnight's trip alone to Lake Champlain. Exhibits five paintings at Southern Exposition in Louisville.

1887

Although teaching at Art Students' Leagues in Philadelphia and New York, does virtually no painting. Bronze easts of Spinning and Knitting presented to Aeademy by Edward Coates. August–September: Recovers from acute depression following dismissal from Aeademy through sojourn on raneh in Bad Lands of North Dakota. Begins as part-time lecturer on art and anatomy at Cooper Union in New York. Begins portrait of Walt Whitman. Participates in special exhibition for the opening of the new Art Club of Philadelphia and attends opening with Mrs. Eakins (subsequently shows at Art Club annuals).

1888

Restored spirits evident in the eulminating aehievement of his landscape work, Cowboys in the Bad Lands, and several portraits of friends. Spring: Ends leeturing at Art Students' League of New York. Autumn: Starts leeturing on artistic anatomy at National Aeademy of Design in New York. Animal Locomotion: The Muybridge Work at the University of Pennsylvania—The Method and the Result, published this year, includes William D. Marks's essay on Eakins's experiments and study of movement.

January–February: Students at University of Pennsylvania commission portrait of Dr. David Hayes Agnew; frenetically completes his largest painting, *The Agnew Clinic*, within three months. Exhibits three works at Exposition Universelle in Paris. *November* 30: Sister Caroline Stephens dies.

1890

Made member of faculty of Women's Art School of Cooper Union to lecture on anatomy. Completes portrait of the principal of Girls' Normal School, George W. Fetter, commissioned by the students.

1891

For first time since dismissal from Aeademy, submits six works to Academy's annual; *The Agnew Clinic* is rejected by Aeademy on a technicality. Receives commission through William R. O'Donovan to seulpt life-size horses for Brooklyn Memorial Arch. *June–July:* Exhibits three paintings at Durand-Ruel Gallery in Paris.

1892

March 26: Walt Whitman dies; Eakins is an honorary pallbearer. May: Resigns from Society of American Artists because, in spite of its original philosophy of open exhibitions, his works, among them The Agnew Clinic, are rejected three years in succession. Nonetheless, submits to subsequent exhibitions, including nine works in Society's retrospective exhibition in December. Completes The Concert Singer. Samuel Murray begins to share 1330 Chestnut Street studio. Receives commission for the historical relief panels for Trenton Battle Monument.

1893

Numbers of students attending Art Students' League so few that decision is made to close venture. Exhibits eleven paintings at World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago; receives medal for *Mending the Net*. Lectures at Art Students' League of Washington, D.C., about this time.

1894

May: Lectures at Aeademy of Natural Sciences on "The Differential Action of Certain Muscles Passing More than One Joint." Considerable effort invested in promoting Samuel Murray as a sculptor, but does relatively little painting.

1895

February: Begins lectures on artistic anatomy at Drexel Institute in Philadelphia. March: Dismissed from Drexel amid great controversy over use of nude model in mixed classes. Ceases to lecture at National Academy of Design in New York. Concentrates increasingly upon portraits of

friends, his primary activity for the next decade. Publication of Sadakichi Hartmann's *Conversations* with Walt Whitman, dedicated to Eakins.

1896

May: Submits three works for the first annual exhibition of Carnegie Institute of Pittsburgh, but according to Institute records, none exhibited. Shows twenty-nine paintings with reasonable success at his first, and only, one-man exhibition, at Earles' Galleries in Philadelphia.

1897

February: Academy purchases The Cello Player, his first painting to enter its collection. With the end of his lectures at Cooper Union, ceases to teach. July: Circumstances surrounding the suicide of his twenty-three-year-old niece Ella end his visits to his one remaining sister, Frances. October 4: Writes: "I have been very busy with the big statues for the Witherspoon Building," a eomnission being carried out by Samuel Murray.

1898

Returns to sporting subjects, this time boxing and wrestling, which occupy him for two years.

1899

Last childhood ties terminated with the death of his aunt Eliza Cowperthwait on January 2 and that of his father on December 30. Serves for first of five years on the international jury of awards for Carnegie Institute.

1900

Long-standing family friend Mary Adeline Williams eomes to live with the artist and his wife at Mount Vernon Street, remaining there until after Mrs. Eakins's death in 1938. October: Murray and Eakins abandon 1330 Chestnut Street studio; converts workshop on top floor of house to a seeond studio. Receives honorable mention at Exposition Universelle in Paris for The Cello Player and Salutat. Sunday afternoon visits to Seminary of St. Charles Borromeo influence his choice of Catholic eleries as subjects.

1901

January: Serves on jury for Aeademy annual for first time sinee 1879 (will serve again in 1903, 1906, and 1909). Wins gold medal at Buffalo's Pan-American Exposition for portrait of Professor George F. Barker.

1902

Becomes Associate at National Academy of Design and quickly thereafter, Academician. Paints portraits of Cardinal Martinelli in Washington, D.C.

Receives commission to paint Robert C. Ogden in New York.

1904

Portrait of Arehbishop Elder of Cincinnati earns the venerated Temple Gold Medal at Aeademy's seventy-third annual. Serves on jury of selection for United States section at Universal Exposition in St. Louis; exhibits seven works including *The Gross Clinic*, which is awarded a gold medal.

1905

Receives commissions from Jefferson Medical College students for portrait of Professor William Smith Forbes; from Fidelity Trust Company for portrait of John B. Gest; and for portrait of A. W. Lee, who pays for, but refuses, picture. Awarded Thomas R. Proctor prize for portrait of Leslie Miller at National Academy of Design.

1906

January-February: Exhibits in sixth exhibition of International Society of Sculptors, Painters and Gravers at New Gallery in London. Receives commission for portrait of Richard Wood. August 7: Father-in-law William H. Maedowell dies. Assists Murray with statue of Commodore Barry now in Independence Square.

1907

Receives gold medal for second portrait of Admiral Melville at American Art Society annual held at Haseltine Galleries in Philadelphia and second-class medal for the portrait of Leslie Miller at Carnegie annual.

1908

Having painted only portraits since the turn of the eentury, works once again on the theme of William Rush and his model.

1909

Productivity wanes rapidly.

1910

Last portraits of any distinction. Poor health and failing eyes. Little change in his reputation even though his wife continues to exhibit his work by sending earlier pietures.

1911

Virtually no more painting. Exhibits at Esposizione Internazionale in Rome.

1912

For his last completed picture, the commissioned portrait of Rutherford B. Hayes, returns to a subject done many years before. *November:* Receives rare public recognition in a spontaneous

ovation at Laneaster, Pennsylvania, when attending opening of portraiture exhibition, which included his *Agnew Clinic*.

1913

Portrait of Charles Dana, painted about 1902, presented to Academy.

1914

Becomes increasingly blind and essentially housebound. Portrait of Dr. Agnew generates great publicity when shown at Academy annual; several interviews appear in Philadelphia newspapers; Dr. Barnes purchases portrait for \$4,000, generating additional publicity.

1915

Exhibits six works at Panama-Pacific International Exposition in San Franciseo.

1916

Elected member of Art Club of Philadelphia. Metropolitan Museum of Art purchases *Pushing for Rail. June* 25: Thomas Eakins dies; no service. His estate, valued at the time of his death at \$33,805.61, includes many of his finest works, all valued at \$2,860. His ashes are buried in Woodlands Cemetery in 1939 with those of his wife. By his will he leaves three-quarters of his estate to his wife and one-quarter to Mary Adeline Williams. Elected honorary member (deceased) of National Association of Portrait Painters.

1917

November 5: Metropolitan Museum of Art opens its memorial exhibition of the artist's work. December 23: Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, responding to considerable local pressure, opens its memorial exhibition.



THE THOMAS EAKINS COLLECTION

Theodor Siegl



1 STUDY OF AN ARM RESTING ON THE BACK OF A CHAIR

Goodrich 8
1863–66
Charcoal on paper
Watermarks: MICHALLET; MS [monogram]
23³/₄ x 18¹/₈" (60.3 x 46 cm)
Unsigned
Inscribed, lower right, by Mrs. Eakins: Thomas
Eakins
Gift of Mrs. Thomas Eakins and
Miss Mary Adeline Williams
29-184-47

LITTLE 18 KNOWN about what Thomas Eakins did as an art student in Philadelphia from 1861, the year he was graduated from Central High School, to September 22, 1866, when he sailed for Paris to study at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts. By the fall of 1862 he was enrolled in the Antique class at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts and also attended the anatomy class there. That winter he is known to have registered in the life-drawing class, a fact documented by the Academy's life class register for 1862–63, which on February 23, 1863, lists him as holding ticket number 86.* The Academy's

*This information was kindly provided by Maria Chamberlin-Hellman from the first chapter of her Ph.D. dissertation, "Thomas Eakins: His Teaching and His Students," Columbia University (in preparation). life classes were informal, however, and, indeed there was remarkably little opportunity for a student to receive sophisticated art training in Philadelphia at that time.

This drawing may have been done while Eakins was a student in the life class at the Academy. It is no more than a beginner's art-school study, and not even a very good one at that! The lines are hard and, in the area of the elbow, surprisingly insensitive. The shading of the torso is primitive, and the fingers are treated superficially, even distorted.

2 STUDIES OF A RECLINING NUDE WOMAN

Goodrich 6 About 1863-66 Charcoal on paper Watermarks: MICHALLET; MS [monogram] 18 x 24" (45.7 x 60.9 cm) Unsigned Inscribed, lower right, by Mrs. Eakins: 1.E. Reverse: STUDIES OF FEET, LEGS, AND A HALF **FIGURE** About 1863-66 Charcoal on paper 24 x 18" (60.9 x 45.7 cm) Unsigned Gift of Mrs. Thomas Eakins and Miss Mary Adeline Williams 29-184-46

THESE CHARCOAL DRAWINGS seem to have been done about the same time as the preceding study of an arm (no. 1). They are on the same paper bearing identical watermarks (see Appendix B, fig. 1a). If the lines seem somewhat more sensitive here, more searching and less harshly shaded, the understanding of anatomy is no more advanced and the technique, no more skillful.

The dating of the small group of Eakins's known charcoal drawings (Goodrich 1–18) has been a matter of considerable discussion among scholars. Mrs. Eakins herself vacillated in assigning them to Philadelphia or to Paris. Hendricks has suggested (*Life*, p. 338, no. 223) that this charcoal and the following one (no. 3) could as well have been done in Paris, shortly after Eakins entered the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in October 1866. The French origin of the drawing paper has sometimes been cited as evidence that the charcoals must have been done in Paris. However, since French paper was not only readily available in America but favored



by American artists for its superior quality, the paper alone cannot be accepted as evidence for dating.

The inability to be more precise about these drawings underscores how little is understood about Eakins's student days.

3 STUDY OF A CHILD

Goodrich 7
1866–68
Charcoal and chalk on paper
Watermarks: MICHALLET; MS [monogram]
23³/4 x 17²/8" (60.3 x 45.4 cm)
Unsigned
Inscribed twice, lower right, by Mrs. Eakins:
Thomas Eakins
Gift of Mrs. Thomas Eakins and
Miss Mary Adeline Williams
29-184-48

THE DATING of this charcoal drawing is highly speculative, but since it is more accomplished than the preceding charcoals (nos. 1 and 2), we are assuming it was completed somewhat later. The papers bear identical watermarks (see Appendix B, fig. 1a), although this handmade sheet is gray, rather than the buff color of the other two drawings. The technique, however, is very different from that of the preceding ones. Here Eakins was not at all concerned with details. With a blunt stick of soft charcoal, he sketched the general shape of the model using strokes much freer than those in the earlier drawings. He smudged the shaded parts, used a stump or eraser to create the highlights in hair and face, and added some very black and very sketchy charcoal lines. Taking advantage of the gray background, he added a white-chalk highlight to the forehead at left.



2 Reverse



3



4 STUDY OF A YOUNG GIRL Goodrich 25 About 1868 Oil on canvas (rebacked) 17 9/16 X 145/16" (44.6 X 36.4 cm) Unsigned Gift of Mrs. Thomas Eakins and Miss Mary Adeline Williams 29-184-8

Surprising as it may seem today, Eakins was almost twenty-three years old before he was introduced to the use of oil paints in March 1867 as a student of Jean-Léon Gérôme in Paris. This study, probably the earliest surviving oil painting by Thomas Eakins, reflects Gérôme's dictum that the paint should be heavily diluted. In a letter to his father, Eakins later complained of this aspect of Gérôme's teaching:

Sometimes in my spasmodic efforts to get my tones of color, the paint got thick, and he would tell me that it was the thickness of the paint that was hindering me from delicate modelling or delicate changes. How I suffered in my doubtings, and I would change again, make a fine drawing and rub weak sickly color on it, and if my comrades or my teacher told me it was better, it almost drove me crazy, and again I would go back to my old instinct and make frightful work again. (Quoted in Goodrich, pp. 26–27)

The drawing is precise but the flesh tones do look rubbed rather than painted. The background is mechanically shaded and does not fol-

low the contours of the figure as it does in Eakins's later work. But, even though Eakins was conforming to a school formula, the study is remarkably successful, already suggesting the perception and insight associated with his finest works.

The canvas was somewhat larger when it was painted. Eakins probably cut it down, as he seems to have done also with the following oil studies (nos. 5 and 6), perhaps for as mundane a reason as to facilitate packing it when he returned home after four years abroad.

5 STUDY OF A NUDE MAN
Goodrich 27
About 1869
Oil on canvas (rebacked)
21¹/₂ x 18¹/₄" (54.6 x 46.4 cm)
Unsigned
Gift of Mrs. Thomas Eakins and
Miss Mary Adeline Williams
29-184-9

COMPARED WITH EAKINS'S study of a young girl (no. 4), which was probably painted a year earlier, this study of a nude man is bolder in the use of undiluted oil paint. Both figures were first drawn in pencil, but here Eakins covered his drawing lines as he applied opaque paint. In this study, Eakins did not work like Gérôme, a superb technician, who was precise in his detail and aimed for a smooth finish in the manner of lngres. Rather, Eakins's treatment of the model's face is broad, sharply outlined, with little





individuality. One can perhaps attribute this technique to the influence of the Parisian realist painter Léon Bonnat, in whose atelier Eakins worked in August and September of 1869. Bonnat's own style was freer than Gérôme's; his brushstrokes were broader and he was less concerned with details.

Although in painting the model's face, Eakins may have experimented with Bonnat's more summary technique, he treated the arm quite differently. In this area is seen, for the first time in Eakins's work, the short blending strokes of buttery paint set wet in wet that carefully construct the model's anatomy based on the artist's specific observation. It is a technique that Eakins would later develop to perfection.

6 STUDY OF A NUDE MAN (THE STRONG MAN) Goodrich 26 About 1869 Oil on canyas (rebacked)

21¹/₂ x 17⁵/₈" (54.6 x 44.8 cm) Unsigned

Gift of Mrs. Thomas Eakins and Miss Mary Adeline Williams 29-184-18

When Eakins painted this study, which has become known as *The Strong Man*, he had mastered the academic technique of life studies in oil and felt he was ready to leave school. "My worst troubles are over," he wrote to his father

from Paris in the fall of 1869, "I know perfectly what I am doing and can run my modelling, without polishing or hiding or sneaking it away to the end" (quoted in Goodrich, p. 27). What he meant is demonstrated in this study. He painted it freely, without a preliminary pencil drawing, and did not correct or polish it, leaving the brushstrokes to speak for themselves. Indeed, he even painted it on a scrap of canvas that had been painted on before; the texture of the earlier, unrelated brushstrokes can be distinguished running diagonally through the model's neck and through the staff. As is seen in his later work (see, for example, nos. 21, 25, and 43), such overpainting did not bother Eakins.

His main interest in this painting was centered on the model's ear, on the muscles and flesh tones, and on the texture of the beard blending into the background. The study is not without its faults. The shadows are hard and flat, particularly on the neck and under the arm. But compared with the two preceding oils (nos. 4 and 5), The Strong Man shows remarkable achievement. Such facility was what Eakins had set out to acquire in France. Attaining this goal surely required many studies, but Eakins did not save them all. Perhaps those he chose to bring home were specific milestones in his development. The Strong Man represents the final stage among his known painted academic life studies.



7 MARGARET IN SKATING COSTUME

Goodrich 39 About 1871 Oil on canvas (rebacked) 24¹/₈ x 20¹/₈" (61.3 x 51.1 cm) Unsigned Inscribed, lower right, by Mrs. Eakins: T.E. 1871 Gift of Mrs. Thomas Eakins and Miss Mary Adeline Williams 29-184-14

By July 4, 1870, after he had completed his academic training in Paris and had spent six months traveling and painting in Spain, Eakins had returned to Philadelphia, eager to embark on his career as a painter. A studio was established for him in his family's house at 1729 Mount Vernon Street, and there he began to paint. He concentrated at first on the life of his family, laboring over a number of small canvases that showed his sisters in the familiar home setting. Margaret in Skating Costume is probably the best-known painting of this group, and surely the most accomplished. It is an intense, sympathetic portrait of the artist's favorite sister, Margaret (1853-1882), who was then about seventeen years old. Margaret took a deep interest in her brother's work, even helping him out with routine business matters. She was his companion in sports, and here he shows her dressed for skating, a sport they both enjoyed. "I hope Maggy will write me a letter soon," Eakins wrote from Paris to his sister Fanny, "& be explicit to tell me all that she can now do on her skates & how her new skates please her" (January 31, 1868, collection of Mr. and Mrs. Daniel W. Dietrich II).

Eakins did not work easily, and it must have taken many sittings before he was satisfied with his representation of Margaret's dark eyes and olive skin, the expression of her mouth, and the pattern of her corduroy jacket. Fortunately, Margaret had the patience for long and arduous posing. Eakins modeled her face with many layers of paint, corrected and recorrected many times. Her eyelashes are defined by minute strokes of paint, and the same technique is employed to capture the light raking across the skin above her mouth. Other artists might have suggested this with one broad stroke of semidry paint, but Eakins rejected such facile tricks. The marvel of this portrait is that it does not look labored, but reveals Eakins's deep feeling for his sister as well as his intensity as an artist.



8 SKETCH OF MAX SCHMITT IN A SINGLE SCULL
Goodrich 64
About 1870–71
Oil on canvas (rebacked)
10 x 14¹/₄" (25.4 x 36.2 cm)
Unsigned
Gift of Mrs. Thomas Eakins and
Miss Mary Adeline Williams
30-32-5

Rowing on the Schuylkill was a popular sport in Philadelphia even before the Civil War, and to the present day one can hardly miss the sight of oarsmen in their shells any time during the rowing season if one strolls westward from the Philadelphia Museum of Art past Boat House Row toward the upriver bridges. Eakins himself was an oarsman, and this sport recalls his work more than any other subject; few well-known artists have painted rowing scenes, and none has done it with such intensity.

This sketch, painted out-of-doors on the banks of the Schuylkill, was probably used to assist Eakins when he painted Oarsmen on the Schuylkill (Appendix B, fig. 2a; Goodrich 63) in his studio. In comparing these paintings, the similarity of the backgrounds and positions of the boats becomes apparent, even though Eakins had to lengthen the boat in the larger composition to accommodate four oarsmen. Only one of the four, the second from right (Appendix B, fig. 2b), looks as if he had been painted from life. His position recalls that of the sculler in the oil sketch, although he mans only one oar. His features cannot be distinguished in the sketch, but Hendricks has

suggested on the basis of the painting (Life, p. 333, no. 170; p. 339, no. 239) that this is Max Schmitt (born 1843), a champion oarsman and the artist's high school friend. As Eakins's companion in swimming and rowing, Schmitt made a convenient subject for the early rowing scenes. The portraits of the other three oarsmen may have been painted from photographs, but the result did not satisfy Eakins. He probably abandoned the picture, turning instead to Max Schmitt in a Single Scull (Goodrich 44; Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York), his most successful and best-known rowing picture.

The Sketch of Max Schmitt in a Single Scull was first drawn on the canvas in pencil, then colored in with oil paints. Neither the preliminary drawing, which is still visible in some areas, nor the coloring is very specific, thus reaffirming the supposition that the sketch was done out-of-doors. In this sketch, Eakins scarcely dealt with the watery reflection of Schmitt, although in Oarsmen on the Schuylkill he did, painting the reflections rather broadly as mirror images affected by ripples, which did not satisfy him. The unresolved problems of representing reflections in water suggest that Eakins painted Oarsmen on the Schuylkill before either Max Schmitt in a Single Scull, dated 1871, or The Pair-Oared Shell, dated 1872 (no. 11). Thus this sketch, with even less interest in reflections and predating Oarsmen on the Schuylkill, may be the very first rowing picture Eakins painted.

All of Eakins's rowing pictures were created within less than four years, between the second half of 1870 and 1874. Eakins must have painted many other oil sketches of rowing sub-



jects during that time also, but few have survived. Some were overpainted by the artist; for example, recent x-rays of the Sketch for "The Gross Clinic" (no. 21) and the Portrait of J. Harry Lewis (no. 25) have revealed rowing sketches under these two paintings (see Appendix B, fig. 4). Like many other artists, Eakins had the habit of painting quick sketches over other sketches. Fortunately, his Sketch of Max Schmitt

9 PERSPECTIVE DRAWING FOR "THE PAIR-OARED SHELL"
Goodrich 50
1872
Pencil, ink, and wash on paper
Watermark: none
31¹/₁₆ x 47¹/₈" (78.9 x 119.7 cm)

in a Single Scull was spared this fate.

Unsigned Purchased: Thomas Skelton Harrison Fund

Purchased

Although no oil sketch for *The Pair-Oared Shell* (no. 11) is known to have survived, such a sketch, done out-of-doors, must have existed, for at that time it was Eakins's first step in composing a picture. He would then have gone on to study and define the specifics of the scene in greater detail as he did, for example, in the two

known perspective drawings for this painting (see also no. 10). This, the first perspective drawing, was done to develop the size and shape of the boat and the position of the oars, all in relation to the pier of the bridge, and to construct the composition with scientific accuracy.

Eakins drew a vertical center line and a horizon line to divide the sheet into four sections (a method he employed for many years in beginning a canvas) and constructed a checkerboard ground plan in perspective, making each square represent a square foot of reality, with the receding lines converging at the point of sight. He then proceeded to draw the structure of the boat in perspective on this grid and to locate

one pier of the old Columbia Bridge.

The drawing is so meticulous and so accurate that we can calculate that the boat is 36 feet long, that it is moving at an angle of 67 degrees away from the viewer, that its stern is $30^{1}/_{2}$ feet from the viewer and $5^{1}/_{2}$ feet to the right of center. The bow is 63 feet away and has not yet reached the bridge. Because Eakins also drew a shadow line from the bridge pier across the bow of the boat, we can even calculate the position of the sun. Knowing the location of the piers of the old bridge, we can tell that the time represented in this drawing—and in the painting that resulted from it—is 7:20 P.M., Eastern





II

Standard Time. A 7:20 sunset occurs on the Schuylkill on May 28 and on July 27, and since the picture represents the time shortly before sunset, the day must have been either in early

June or in mid-July.

And yet, although Eakins was well acquainted with the laws of perspective (several competent perspective drawings remain from his high school meehanical-drawing classes), this drawing and the final painting are strangely flat because Eakins placed the point of distance (or vanishing point for the diagonals) unusually far from the center. In traditional perspective, this point would be placed at a distance from the center of the painting equal to the width of the painting, and should be the same as the distance from which the painting is intended to be viewed. Here, however, the point of distance is about 72 inches from the eenter, almost twice as far away as would be eustomary, with the result that the final painting appears condensed, as if it were the center of a much larger seene, or as if it were seen through a telescope. (For the author's more detailed analysis of this drawing, see Philadelphia: Three Centuries of American Art, Philadelphia Museum of Art, April 11-Oetober 10, 1976, pp. 391–93, no. 336a).

10 PERSPECTIVE DRAWING FOR "THE PAIR-OARED SHELL"

Goodrich 51

1872

Pencil, ink, and watercolor on paper

Watermark: none

 $31^{13}/_{16} \times 47^{9}/_{16}''$ (80.8 x 120.8 cm)

Unsigned

Inscribed, Iower right, by Mrs. Eakins: Thomas Eakins / Perspective of picture painted before 1876

Purchased: Thomas Skelton Harrison Fund 44-45-1

EAKINS MADE TWO known perspective drawings for his painting *The Pair-Oared Shell* (no. 11). The first (no. 9) defines the size and location of the boat, oars, and pier; this, the second, analyzes their reflections in the water.

Here Eakins repeated the perspective ground plan of the initial drawing, and then traced the boat, oars, and pier in their proper places. Next he sketched in the two rowers and colored them with watercolor. To construct the reflections, Eakins made the assumption that the ripples of the water could be abstracted into three geometrical planes. One would be parallel to the surface, one would be slanted toward the viewer, and one would be slanted away from

the viewer. Since the reflection on the hidden plane need not be painted, only the other two had to be calculated. This he did with the aid of the two converging scales drawn in the sky area. The reflections were then broken down into geometric shapes and colored to represent the corresponding objects.

In reality a river would not ripple in exact geometric shapes, hence real reflections on a river do not look exactly as Eakins constructed them. But it is interesting to observe how Eakins's precise mind sought to discover a formula for constructing reflections even though the various influences that cause a river to ripple are far too diverse to be encompassed by such a simplified solution.

11 THE PAIR-OARED SHELL

Goodrich 49
1872
Oil on canvas (rebacked)
24 x 36" (60.9 x 91.4 cm)
Signed on pier: Eakins / 1872
Gift of Mrs. Thomas Eakins and
Miss Mary Adeline Williams
29-184-35

THE PAIR-OARED SHELL shows two friends of the artist, John and Bernard (Barney) Biglin, practicing their rowing on the Schuylkill River. The Biglins were professional rowers who earned their living by competing in races throughout the country. John Biglin, twentyeight at the time, is shown in the stroke position, eloser to the viewer. Barney Biglin, who was younger by three years, oeeupies the less important bow seat. The precision of the painting clearly shows the artist's assimilation of the information evolved in his preliminary drawings (nos. 9 and 10). The paint is handled most precisely on the shell where Eakins painted each of its details in sharp focus, almost as if he intended to explain their function to the viewer.

From the information given in the preliminary perspective drawings, we know that the Biglin brothers' boat is heading downstream. Above them, about twelve feet ahead, looms the old Columbia Bridge, its pier just beginning to cast a shadow over the bow of the boat. The time is early evening, just before sunset. The background of the painting is equally specifie. There, in the evening mist, is an accurate rendition of the west bank of the river just below the bridge where the Schuylkill takes a sharp turn. To the left of the bridge pier, behind Barney Biglin's head, one can see Belmont Landing, a narrow strip of land where steamboats docked. The canal, which separated the



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landing from the west bank, is shown as a light band, and behind it are trees and two houses.

Eakins completed at least twelve compositions of rowers on the Schuylkill, most of which show his friend John Biglin. Then, two years after he had painted *The Pair-Oared Shell*, he apparently abandoned the subject completely, for no rowing pieture is known to have been painted after 1874.

12 SAILBOATS RACING
Goodrich 76
1874
Oil on canvas (rebacked)
24 x 36" (60.9 x 91.4 cm)
Signed on side of boat at right: EAKINS / 74
Gift of Mrs. Thomas Eakins and
Miss Mary Adeline Williams
29-184-28

EAKINS WAS A RUGGED outdoorsman, with a passion especially for the water. He probably owned a sailboat, as Goodrieh reports (p. 7), and on Sunday mornings he was frequently to be found sailing on the Delaware River.

The view in Sailboats Racing appears to be from the Pennsylvania side of the Delaware, just below the eity of Philadelphia, looking toward the New Jersey shore. A large number of sailboats are engaged in a raee, which seems to turn at a point near the left side of the painting. In the distance is a steamer, presumably carrying onlookers and perhaps the judges. But the main interest of the painting is centered on the two boats in the foreground and their occupants, rendered in clearly distinguishable de-

tail, who were undoubtedly friends of the artist although their identity is no longer known.

Of all Eakins's paintings in the Museum's eollection, Sailboats Racing reealls most strongly the painting and eompositional techniques of his Parisian teacher Jean-Léon Gérôme. The precise balance of design in the painting and the meticulous, hard detail of the foreground figures, equally focused in the eenter of the eomposition and in the boat at right, are characteristics of Gérôme's own work. A few years hence, Eakins would decide that only in the focal point of a composition could the eye perceive as much detail, and thus, in later paintings, he would restrict the greatest detail to the area of the focal point (see no. 40). Here, however, he still followed Gérôme's method.

Eakins admired Gérôme, and throughout his own life never failed to credit the artist for having been his teacher. In 1873, three years after his return to America, Eakins sent a watercolor of a rower to Gérôme for criticism, and he followed up the next year with a second watercolor of the same subject to show how his work reflected the criticism he had received from Gérôme. In 1874, he also sent two oils to Gérôme, and in 1875, sent an additional four oils, for criticism and for exhibition in France.

An entry in Eakins's record books under Sailboats Racing (transcribed by Goodrich*) lists "Paris Goupils." By deduction, this painting would seem to be the work referred to as the

^{*}This information was kindly provided by Lloyd Goodrich from his transcriptions of material in Mrs. Eakins's possession.



"big one" in Eakins's letter to Earl Shinn of April 13, 1875, regarding the paintings that had been dispatched to France, but were for some reason delayed:

As the time grew near for the last day of admittance to the saloon, the anxiety increased. Gerome himself feeryed [sic] and sent to all the depots & express companies to see where it was detained. Gerome told Billy [Sartain] I was one of his most talented pupils and that he was most particularly anxious about me. At the last moment the box not arriving, Gerome ordered the old ones at Goupil's to be sent. Next day Billy went up to Gérômes Sunday. The box had just arrived, and Gerome was opening it. There were two decorated artists there friends of Gerome that Billy did not know. Gerome pitched into the water of the big one said it was painted like the wall. also he feared (just fear) that the rail shooting [possibly Goodrich 78] sky was painted with the palette knife. The composition of this one they all found too regular. They all said the figures of all were splendid. The drifting race [possibly no. 13] seemed to be liked by all very much. The nigger [possibly Goodrich 72] they had nothing against. Gérôme said he would put in the saloon the rail shooters & the drifting race as the jury had not yet passed on them and he thought he could easily change them in explaining why. Next time Billy went to Gerome he said he had changed his mind that he would leave the old ones in the saloon. They were not so good but the figures were larger, and Goupil wanted the four new ones for London.

This London exhibition he seems to conceive of more importance & Billy thinks too that there is more chance there for such pictures. (Richard T. Cadbury Papers, Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College, Pennsylvania)

Thus, though Eakins had sent the four oils to France for exhibition at the Salon, Gérôme had decided to enter instead the two oils that had been in Paris since the previous year, and to forward to London the four new pictures for exhibition at Goupil's gallery there.

13 SHIPS AND SAILBOATS ON THE DELAWARE
Goodrich 82
1874
Oil on canvas (rebacked)
10¹/₈ x 17¹/₈" (25.7 x 43.5 cm)
Signed, lower right: Eakins 74
Gift of Mrs. Thomas Eakins and
Miss Mary Adeline Williams
29-184-25

EAKINS HIMSELF DESCRIBED the scene shown in Ships and Sailboats on the Delaware in a letter to Earl Shinn, dated only January 30, but which is known to have been written in 1875:

It is a still August morning 11 o'clock. The race has started down from Tony Brown's at Gloucester on the ebb tide.

What wind there is from time to time is astern & the big sails flop out some one side & some the other. You can see a least little breeze this side of the vessels at anchor. It turns up the water enough to reflect the blue sky of the zenith. The row boats and clumsy



sail boats in the fore ground are not the racers but starters & lookers on. (Richard T. Cadbury Papers, Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College, Pennsylvania)

Eakins actually wrote this letter to describe the watercolor Drifting, which he painted in 1875 (Goodrich 83; repro. Hoopes, p. 35, pl. 7) as an almost exact duplicate of Ships and Sailboats on the Delaware. It was not unusual for Eakins to paint an oil first and then repeat the scene in watercolor (see, for example, no. 38). But in this case he first painted a small oil study of the subject (Goodrich 81; location unknown) and then a full oil version of the same theme, now in the Wadsworth Atheneum in Hartford (Appendix B, fig. 3; Goodrich 80); then he revised the composition to paint the Museum's Ships and Sailboats on the Delaware, and finally, in 1875, he reproduced this same version in watercolor, which he then described in his letter to Shinn. One can only assume that the first composition, the picture in Hartford, was not entirely satisfactory to Eakins—perhaps it seemed too static—and therefore, he painted the second composition, improving the arrangement of the boats. He then copied the second version in watercolor, because only in that medium could he properly capture the luminosity of the scene.

Eakins discussed Gérôme's reaction to a group of paintings he had sent to Paris, in a letter to Shinn of April 13, 1875 (see no. 12), which includes the following sentence: "The drifting race seemed to be liked by all very much." The drifting race subject, which may indeed refer to the Philadelphia version, was sent abroad for exhibition at the Salon in 1875;

however, it was exhibited that year at Goupil's in London instead, along with the three other works mentioned in the letter.

14 LANDSCAPE WITH DOG

Goodrich 75 About 1874 (unfinished) Oil on canvas (rebacked) 17⁷/₈ x 32" (45.4 x 81.3 cm) Unsigned Gift of Seymour Adelman 47-96-3

HUNTING WAS a subject that Eakins treated frequently in the mid 1870s. The artist loved outdoor activities and had many friends who went hunting with him and his father in the New Jersey marshes. These were the people he repeatedly portrayed in his early outdoor scenes.

Landscape with Dog, an obviously unfinished canvas, was probably not intended as landscape alone, but may have been planned to include figures, most likely hunters. The dog is well drawn and provides a good example of Eakins's short, choppy brushwork. With this technique he could quickly capture the essence of a fleeting moment, as he has done here with his superb representation of the tension of the animal. Eakins scraped out some of the trees on the horizon, evidently because they were too obtrusive, but then he abandoned the canvas, leaving no further hint of what he had intended to represent there.



I 5

15 STUDY OF A SEATED NUDE WOMAN WEARING A MASK

Goodrich 1 1874–76 Charcoal on paper Watermark: AM 24¹/₄ x 18⁵/₈" (61.6 x 47.3 cm) Unsigned Inscribed, lower right, by Mrs. Eakins: 1.E. Gift of Mrs. Thomas Eakins and Miss Mary Adeline Williams 29-184-49

This study of a masked nude woman is probably Eakins's best-known and most often exhibited drawing. Eakins did not idealize his model at all. He drew the fleshy nude exactly as she appeared with her dark mask and her swollen legs, but he did not lose himself in details as a younger, less experienced artist might have done.

In Philadelphia, models often posed in masks in order to conceal their identities, but masking was not mandatory and they did so by choice. This was a practice that continued at the Academy at least until the mid 1880s (Adam Emory Albright, "Memories of Thomas Eakins," *Harper's Bazaar*, vol. 81, no. 7, August 1947, p. 184).

There has been considerable discussion about the date of this and the following four charcoals (nos. 16 to 19), a group of works that were apparently done about the same time. We do not think that these drawings were done in

Philadelphia before Eakins went to study abroad, nor in Paris, as has frequently been advocated. The sculptural conception of the totality of the figures and the resolution of certain details—for example, the powerful but economical drawing of the clasped hands of the seated nude man (no. 18)—suggest a date after such relatively inexperienced and labored figure paintings as A Street Scene in Seville, dated 1870 (fig. 1; Goodrich 33), and Katherine, dated 1872 (Goodrich 45; Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven). It is our contention that this group of drawings must have been done in Philadelphia somewhat later; and the poses and props as well as the consistent soft, overhead light source suggestive of artificial illumination indicate that the models posed in the same studio, probably during evening life-drawing classes.

In 1874, Eakins was asked by some of his artist friends to conduct a life class at the Philadelphia Sketch Club. Because the classes of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts had been suspended in 1871, there was no opportunity in Philadelphia to practice drawing from the nude, even though such practice was thought to be essential for academic artists. The Sketch Club, an association of both established artists and art students, therefore deeided to bridge the gap by establishing a life class, which was held in the evenings. The Academy's instructor Christian Schussele "would have been invited to take the direction of this class, had it not been known that he was in extremely infirm health. The invitation was accordingly extended to Mr. Thomas Eakins, a pupil of Gérôme, and was accepted with cordiality" (Sigma [Earl Shinn], "A Philadelphia Art School," The Art Amateur, vol. 10, no. 2, January 1884, p. 33). Knowing the close relationship Eakins had with his students, it is reasonable to assume that he himself would also have drawn the models at the life classes. We therefore suggest that these five charcoals may have been done as early as 1874, when Eakins began to teach at the Sketch Club, or as late as 1876, after classes resumed at the Academy on September 1 of that year (Minutes of the Board of Directors, February 5, 1877, PAFA Archives), and Eakins assisted Schussele by taking charge of the evening life classes there.

In these drawings, Eakins first used a soft charcoal stick to establish the general shape of the model and of the background. He then smudged these preliminary lines and achieved the highlights by cleaning with a stump. Finally, he took a finely pointed charcoal stick and





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worked over the whole drawing in small, crisp touches of deep black charcoal, defining the form and the play of light on the surface of the skin.

The handmade paper of the five charcoals in this group is French in origin. The watermark AM (Appendix B, fig. 1b) appears in numbers 15 and 16; the watermark EB with caduceus in shield (Appendix B, fig. 1c), in numbers 17, 18, and 19. French paper was preferred for its superior quality by serious artists in America as well as in Europe, and the paper cannot be cited as evidence to establish where these drawings were done.

16 STUDY OF A STANDING NUDE

WOMAN Goodrich 2 1874–76 Charcoal on paper Watermark: AM 24¹/₄ x 18³/₄" (61.6 x 47.6 cm) Unsigned Gift of Mrs. Thomas Eakins and Miss Mary Adeline Williams 29-184-43

In this study, Eakins seems to have been interested primarily in the distribution of the model's weight. She must be leaning forward because her weight is on the left foot, but the artist gives little information about the back-

ground or the support on which she is leaning. Her swollen legs also caught his interest, but her broad back shows little modulation, which may be due to the soft overhead light. Her head, arms, and feet are only sketchily represented.

17 STUDY OF A RECLINING NUDE

WOMAN
Goodrich 5
1874–76
Charcoal on paper
Watermark: EB with caduceus in shield
18½ x 24" (47 x 60.9 cm)
Unsigned
Gift of Mrs. Thomas Eakins and
Miss Mary Adeline Williams
29-184-42

The model for this study may be the same as the one who posed for the previous drawing (no. 16), and here more detail is included—the soft modeling of her back and leg, the shadows of the flesh against the deeper shade of the blanket she is resting on, even her toes are represented—but these details do not distract from the masterful shading that Eakins accomplished with small, very delicate lines. In the blank area to the right of the figure, Eakins made a short scribble to test his drawing tool to make sure that it was capable of producing crisp lines.



18 STUDY OF A SEATED NUDE MAN Goodrich 4 1874–76 Charcoal on paper Watermark: EB with caduceus in shield 24⁵/₁₆ x 18¹/₂" (61.8 x 47 cm) Unsigned Gift of Mrs. Thomas Eakins and Miss Mary Adeline Williams 29-184-44

This charcoal developed in perceiving a figure as a unit rather than as an accumulation of details. Here he was particularly interested in the model's clasped hands, which he succeeded in representing with great economy, and in the foreshortening of the arm and leg. The feet of the model, being of less interest to him, are loosely sketched, but this increases rather than diminishes the interest of the drawing.



19

19 STUDY OF A NUDE BOY Goodrich 3 1874–76 Charcoal on paper Watermark: EB with caduceus in shield 24 x 189/16" (60.9 x 47.1 cm) Unsigned Inscribed, lower right, by Mrs. Eakins: T.E. Gift of Mrs. Thomas Eakins and Miss Mary Adeline Williams 29-184-45

An entry in Eakins's European journal (Appendix A, no. 47), "Madame Derue 40 rue Mazarine Garcon 9 ans Fille 10 ans," has led Hendricks (Life, pp. 338-39, no. 230) to suggest that the child in this drawing may possibly be the nine-year-old son of Madame Derue. This assumption, based on his belief that the drawing was done in Paris before Eakins left there in 1869, does not account for the props in the background, which suggest a conventional studio life class, nor in turn explain the close connection this drawing has with the four preceding life-class studies (nos. 15 to 18). It is more likely that the young model had posed at an evening life class in Philadelphia. Clearly Eakins was more interested in his softly shaded body, his hands, and his feet than he was in recording his features.



20 SAILING
Goodrich 77
About 1875
Oil on canvas (rebacked)
31⁷/₈ x 46¹/₄" (81 x 117.5 cm)
Inscribed and signed, lower right: To his friend /
William M. Chase. / Eakins
The Alex Simpson, Jr. Collection
28-63-6

Scholars of the work of Thomas Eakins have generally regarded Sailing as an unfinished preliminary study for Starting Out after Rail, a subject that Eakins painted in oil (Goodrich 78; Museum of Fine Arts, Boston) and watercolor (Goodrich 79; Witchita Art Museum), the latter exhibited in 1874 under the title Harry Young, of Moyamensing, and Sam Helbower, "The Pusher," Going Rail Shooting. However, its simpler, improved composition and its unusually bold paint technique would suggest to us that Sailing was intended as a second approach to the same theme.

A painting of Starting Out after Rail was one of the four oils that Eakins sent to Gérôme early in 1875. In a letter to Earl Shinn of April 13, 1875 (see no. 12), Eakins reported that Gérôme "feared (just fear) that the rail shooting sky was painted with the palette knife" and that the composition was "too regular." It is reasonable to assume that on receiving this criticism, Eakins may have tried to improve the composition, blocking it in boldly without details and giving it much more drama, but then abandoned the painting when he was satisfied that a better composition had been achieved.

Sailing is an almost monochrome study in shades of brown, gray, and white. It was painted largely with the palette knife, a method far removed from Gérôme's technique, giving a more spontaneous, painterly look than one expects in the work of Thomas Eakins. It is not surprising that Eakins chose this particular study as a gift for William Merritt Chase, an artist distinguished for his painterly work. About 1899, Eakins painted a portrait of Chase (Goodrich 330; Hirshhorn Museum) when Chase was teaching at the Pennsylvania Academy, and it may well have been at this time that Eakins presented Sailing to his friend.



21 SKETCH FOR "THE GROSS CLINIC" Goodrich 89 1875 Oil on canvas (rebacked) 26 x 22" (66 x 55.9 cm) Signed, lower right: E. Inscribed, lower right, by Mrs. Eakins: T.E. 75. Gift of Mrs. Thomas Eakins and Miss Mary Adeline Williams 29-184-31

By 1875, five years after his return from Europe, Eakins had developed in his ability and had gained much confidence as an artist. It was only then that he felt ready to paint a very large picture in the grand academic manner as proof of his skill. This work he specifically planned for the Centennial exhibition, which was to take place in Philadelphia the following year.

Eakins chose a subject that was familiar to him, an operation and lecture at Jefferson Medical College presided over by the famous surgeon Dr. Samuel David Gross (1805–1884). This was a scene that Eakins must have seen frequently when he attended anatomy lectures at Jefferson both before and after his stay abroad. The earliest known reference to Eakins's work on the portrait of Dr. Gross, known today as *The Gross Clinic* (Goodrich 88), appears in a letter that Eakins wrote to his friend Earl Shinn on April 13, 1875: "I have just got a new picture blocked in & it is very far better than anything I have ever done. As I spoil things less & less in finishing I have the

greatest hopes of this one. . . . I wouldnt send you such a damned egotist letter but I feel good, and I know you will be pleased at my progress" (Richard T. Cadbury Papers, Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College, Pennsylvania).

This sketch, the basis for the large composition, was undoubtedly done on the spot early in 1875 and includes all the medical elements of the dramatic scene that would be Eakins's most important painting. It is a spontaneous work, executed rapidly with stiff bristle brushes and palette knife. The sketch is painted right over an old canvas that already had a number of rowing studies on it. Some of the bright colors of the studies beneath the sketch show through here and there, as do a number of unrelated impasto strokes, which can be seen running vertically through the operating table. An x-ray reveals quite clearly the inverted form of a rower at the bottom left (Appendix B, fig. 4).

Eakins was pleased with his Sketch for "The Gross Clinic." His student Tom Eagan, who did not become acquainted with the artist until ten years later, recalled that this sketch was among the dozen of his own works that Eakins liked best (McHenry, p. 70).

22 HEADS OF DR. GROSS AND DR.
BARTON (STUDY FOR BLACK-AND-WHITE VERSION OF "THE
GROSS CLINIC")
Goodrich 92
About 1875
Ink, wash, and pencil on paper
Watermark: none
12¹/₁₆ x 15¹/₈" (30.6 x 38.4 cm)
Unsigned
Inscribed, lower left, by Mrs. Eakins: Drawing
in India Ink / by Thomas Eakins / 1876
Gift of Mrs. Thomas Eakins and
Miss Mary Adeline Williams
30-32-1

SHORTLY AFTER EAKINS completed the large Gross Clinic, he decided to have the picture photographically reproduced (see no. 23). At that time the technical means for photographing paintings were still imperfect, the film being more sensitive to some colors than to others. Eakins therefore decided to create a small copy of The Gross Clinic in black and white only, specifically for the purpose of photography and reproduction. However, he was not sure which technique to use for his copy. Should it be done with pen and ink, resembling black-and-white wood engravings, or should it imitate the oil technique of the original with



delicate brushstrokes? To help him decide, Eakins made a preliminary study using both techniques on the same sheet of paper. He squared off the paper and sketched the heads of Dr. Gross and Dr. Barton to scale in their relative positions. Then he finished Dr. Gross's face with small strokes of pen and ink while he painted Dr. Barton in india ink with a brush. After comparing the two techniques he must have decided that the brush technique was more suitable for his purposes, for he painted the full black-and-white copy (Goodrich 91) with india ink on cardboard at the same scale as that of the two heads.

23 THE GROSS CLINIC 1876 Collotype $13^{7/8}$ x $11^{7/16}$ " (35.2 x 29.1 cm); composition $11^{1/4}$ $x g^{1/8}'' (28.6 \times 23.2 \text{ cm})$ Inscribed in plate, lower right: Copyright by Eakins 1876 Inscribed and signed on margin, lower right: To Florence A. Einstein / from her friend Thomas Gift of Mrs. Adrian Siegel 52-37-1

WHEN EAKINS FINISHED the black-and-white india ink copy of *The Gross Clinic* (Goodrich 91) that he made for the purpose of reproduction (see no. 22), he sent it abroad to Adolph Braun of Dornach (Alsace), who had become world famous specializing in the reproduction of works of art. We do not know how many prints of *The Gross Clinic* Eakins ordered. Undoubtedly there were quite a few in the edition, and several have been documented, but only two are known to have survived. This example is inscribed to Eakins's friend Florence Einstein,



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who from February 1889 to her death in 1918 headed the department of design at the Philadelphia School of Design for Women (now Moore College of Art). In 1905, Eakins painted her portrait (Goodrich 424; private collection). The second extant example is in the Hirshhorn Museum.

The print, which has also been variously called a photograph, a photogravure, and an autotype, was exhibited at the Penn Art Club in March 1876 before the painting itself was displayed publicly, and it was seen again at the annual exhibition of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts in April. After the painting had been shown at Haseltine Galleries that same month, it was submitted to the great Centennial art exhibition, but was rejected. However, both the painting and the print were displayed together in the United States Army hospital exhibit at the exposition (see David Sellin, "The First Pose," PMA Bulletin, vol. 70, nos. 311–12, spring 1975, fig. 30).



24 BERTRAND GARDEL (STUDY FOR "THE CHESS PLAYERS")

Goodrich 98
About 1875
Oil on paper (mounted on cardboard)
12½ x 9¾ (30.8 x 24.8 cm)
Unsigned
Inscribed, lower right, by Mrs. Eakins: T.E
Gift of Mrs. Thomas Eakins and
Miss Mary Adeline Williams
30-32-6

ENCOURAGED BY his progress with *The Gross Clinic* (see no. 21), which was the largest picture he had yet painted, Eakins decided that he would also paint a small and very precise interior scene in the Dutch manner, and that he would submit both works to the Centennial exhibition to demonstrate his skill on very different scales. This small composition, painted on wood, is *The Chess Players*, dated 1876 (fig. 2; Goodrich 96).

The painting shows the artist's father Benjamin Eakins watching a game of chess between his friends Bertrand Gardel (c.1808–1885), a teacher of French who lived in Germantown, and George W. Holmes, a painter and art teacher. The scene is set in the living room of the Eakins house on Mount Vernon Street. By inscribing the picture "Benjamini Eakins Filius Pinxit 76" ("Benjamin Eakins's son painted this in '76"), Eakins publicly acknowledged his affection and respect for his father.

The study of Bertrand Gardel is probably one of many preliminary studies for *The Chess Players*, although only this and a very meticulous perspective drawing of the interior (Goodrich 97; Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York) are know to have survived. In the oil study, Gardel's head is approximately 6 inches across, considerably larger than in the final painting, where it is about 1¾ inches. His profile remains about the same but his right hand, which supports his chin in the study, is hidden by the table in the painting.

When the Centennial exhibition opened in May 1876, *The Chess Players* and four other paintings by Eakins were exhibited in Memo-

rial Hall, the art exhibition building.

25 PORTRAIT OF J. HARRY LEWIS Goodrich 95 1876 Oil on canvas (rebacked) 23⁵/₈ x 19³/₄" (60 x 50.2 cm) Signed, lower right: EAKINS 76 Gift of Mrs. Thomas Eakins and Miss Mary Adeline Williams

20-184-3

Some time during the Centennial year, Eakins picked up an unfinished, horizontal rowing picture, placed the canvas vertically on his easel, and used it to paint a portrait of his boyhood friend J. Harry Lewis (1840–1909), who was a printer. From 1865 to 1872, the Lewises had lived on the corner of Eighteenth and Wallace streets, just a short block from the artist's house, and the two families were very close. In a letter to his mother written from Paris on December 19, 1867 (collection of Mr. and Mrs. Daniel W. Dietrich II), Eakins reminisced about the Lewis family on hearing of the recent death of Mrs. Lewis: "I do not know when Thanksgiving day was in America but I think it must have been about the time of her death or great sickness. How different must have been our homes from the old Thanksgiving days that I always spent at their house. . . . "

The technique of the picture suggests that Harry Lewis was a patient model. The understated portrait is built up in many layers of smooth, rich paint. The features on the strongly lit side of the face are carried out in great detail, while the shaded side of the face is dark and quite vague. One has to look closely at the carefully constructed eye to see the minute details of individual eyelashes or a white line suggesting a glint of moisture in the lower-right corner of the eyeball. Clearly the painting of the head was of primary interest; in the upper-



left corner the background color is not even carried to the edge of the canvas. There, a blue-gray color, which was once the background of the rowing picture underneath, can still be seen.

Eakins did not exhibit this portrait until much later; in 1916, a few months before his death, it was shown for the first time in the annual exhibition of the National Academy of Design in New York. There, in a dark room, Henry McBride discovered it, praised its merits in the New York Sun (March 19, 1916), and called it to the attention of his friend Bryson Burroughs, curator of paintings at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. This discovery may have been the incentive for the large Eakins memorial exhibition that Burroughs staged later the same year at the Metropolitan. This exhibition is now recognized as the beginning of Eakins's modern fame.

26 MODELS FOR "WILLIAM RUSH CARVING HIS ALLEGORICAL FIGURE OF THE SCHUYLKILL RIVER" Goodrich 498 1876–77 Gift of Mrs. Thomas Eakins and

Miss Mary Adeline Williams

A Water Nymph and Bittern Pigmented wax, wood, muslin, wire, and nails $9^{3}/_{4} \times 6^{3}/_{4} \times 3^{7}/_{8}''$ (24.8 x 17.1 x 9.8 cm) Unsigned 29-184-40

B Head of the Water Nymph Pigmented wax, wood, and metal tubing 7¹/₄ x 4³/₈ x 3³/₄" (18.4 x 11.1 x 9.5 cm) Unsigned 29-184-38

C The Schuylkill Freed (Allegory of the Waterworks) Pigmented wax, wood, wire, and nails $4^{1/2} \times 8^{1/2} \times 2^{1/2}''$ (11.4 x 21.6 x 6.4 cm) Unsigned 29-184-41

D George Washington Pigmented wax, wood, wire, and nails 8½ x 4 x 2³¼" (20.6 x 10.2 x 7 cm) Unsigned 29-184-39

E Head of William Rush Pigmented wax, wood, plaster, and nails $7^{1/4}$ x $4^{1/4}$ x $4^{7/8}''$ (18.4 x 10.8 x 12.4 cm) Unsigned 29-184-37

HISTORY PAINTING was traditionally considered the noblest achievement of academic art. It is therefore not surprising that after his great portrait, The Gross Clinic (see no. 21), and his intimate genre scene, The Chess Players (see no. 24), Eakins decided to use an historical theme as the subject of the next picture he painted specifically for exhibition. Inspired, perhaps, by the then popular theme of an artist at work, for example, Rembrandt Biting a Plate with Aquafortis, painted by Gérôme in 1861 (Edward Strahan [Earl Shinn], ed., Gérôme, New York, 1881, vol. 1, pl. x1), or The Emperor Maximilian and Albrecht Dürer, painted by Wilhelm Koller in 1871 (repro. *The Art Journal*, vol. 50, July 1887, p. 225), he selected as the subject of his tribute the sculptor William Rush (1756–1833) at work in his studio on one of his best-known statues (see no. 28). About sixty years earlier, Rush had created a number of monumental wooden sculptures for public buildings and civic projects, which by 1876 had become greatly admired Philadelphia landmarks.

It was common practice for academic painters to paint preliminary studies of each element of an ambitious project before actually painting the final work, but three-dimensional studies



26 C

were less common. It was perhaps as a first exercise in preparation for the painting that Eakins, who had himself studied modeling for a while with the French sculptor Augustin-Alexandre Dumont, sought out Rush's works and made small wax copies of them, both to become thoroughly familiar with the sculptures and to use them as models in the

studio when painting his picture.

Rush's Water Nymph and Bittern, the sculpture that was to become the subject of the painting, was already decaying when Eakins made his copy of it in wax (A). Carved in 1809, it is said to have been America's first decorative fountain built with public funds. The wooden figure originally stood in Centre Square, which by 1876 had become the site of Philadelphia's City Hall, but Eakins made his copy from a bronze cast made in 1854 that was then standing near the Fairmount Waterworks on the Schuylkill River and is now in the Philadelphia Museum of Art.

The Head of the Water Nymph (B) is simply an enlargement of the head of the full wax figure. Goodrich listed it as the head of the model, but clearly this is a mistake. At first, Eakins probably also modeled the bird perched on the shoulder in Rush's statue, but then removed it. There is still a deep hole in the right shoulder where the bittern may have been sitting, perhaps supported by wire.

The Schuylkill Freed, carved by Rush in 1825, was part of the decoration of the Fairmount

Waterworks. The title by which this sculpture is now known is misleading for it is actually an allegorical representation of the impact of the Waterworks. Although Eakins may have known that Rush carved *The Schuylkill Freed* long after he had completed the *Water Nymph*, he still made a wax model of it (c) and decided to include it in the background of his painting illustrating the creation of the earlier figure.

Rush carved his figure of George Washington in 1814 or in early 1815. When Eakins made his wax copy (D), the original wooden sculpture was on display at Independence Hall. Eakins also made a pencil drawing of the Washington statue, which is now in the Hirshhorn

Museum.

Eakins's *Head of William Rush* (E) is not an exact copy of any known sculpture. It was probably inspired by Rush's self-portrait at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts and by Rembrandt Peale's portrait of Rush at Independence Hall. Eakins was interested only in a good likeness of the sculptor so that he could reproduce his features accurately in the painting.

According to Goodrich (p. 208), there was also a sixth wax figure, representing a nude model, but this is now lost. The Museum also owns a set of plasters (Appendix A, no. 1), cast from these five wax models by Mrs. Eakins and

Samuel Murray in 1931.













27 INTERIOR OF A WOODCARVER'S SHOP (SKETCH FOR "WILLIAM RUSH CARVING HIS ALLEGORICAL FIGURE OF THE SCHUYLKILL RIVER") Goodrich 112
1876–77
Oil on canvas (mounted on cardboard) 85/8 x 13" (21.9 x 33 cm)
Unsigned
Gift of Charles Bregler
46-19-1

As Eakins began to assemble material for his painting of William Rush Carving His Allegorical Figure of the Schuylkill River (no. 28), he went to the Philadelphia waterfront, at Front Street below Callowhill, where Rush's workshop had once been. There he found some people who still remembered the shop and were able to describe it to him. Somehow he discovered Rush's original sketchbook, which had been preserved by an apprentice and left to another ship carver. He also visited one of the old carving shops that still remained in the same area and painted this oil sketch of its interior.

In this scene, Eakins was not very interested in the foreground figures and he therefore sketched them roughly with a wide brush. The background, however, was important to him. He carefully painted an assortment of the scrolls and numbers and letters hanging on a rough plaster wall, objects which he ultimately used in the background of his final painting.

Eakins made many other sketches and studies before he painted his final picture. These include pencil drawings of the costumes (Hirshhorn Museum), at least six other oil studies (see Gordon Hendricks, "Eakins' William

Rush Carving His Allegorical Statue of the Schuylkill," The Art Quarterly, winter 1968, vol. 31, no. 4, pp. 402–3), and probably a perspective study, although this is now unlocated. These extensive preparations demonstrate how important the painting must have been to Eakins and show that he was prepared to go to great lengths to make every detail correct.

28 WILLIAM RUSH CARVING HIS
ALLEGORICAL FIGURE OF THE
SCHUYLKILL RIVER
Goodrich 109
1876–77
Oil on canvas (mounted on Masonite)
20¹/₈ x 26¹/₈" (51.1 x 66.4 cm)
Signed on piece of wood, lower right: EAKINS. 77.
Gift of Mrs. Thomas Eakins and
Miss Mary Adeline Williams
29-184-27

LLOYD GOODRICH DESCRIBED this painting as one of Eakins's most aesthetically satisfying works. Eakins himself attached considerable importance to it and wrote an explanation of the picture for an exhibition catalogue of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts:

William Rush, the Ship Carver, was the earliest and one of the best American sculptors.

At the completion of the first Philadelphia waterworks at Centre Square, which is now occupied by the Public Buildings, he undertook a wooden statue to adorn the square, which statue was afterwards removed to the forebay at Fairmount, where it still remains, though very frail. Some years ago a cast of it was made in bronze for the fountain near the Callowhill Street Bridge.



The statue represents the River Schuylkill under the form of a woman. The drapery is very thin, to show by its numerous and tiny folds the character of the waves of a hill-surrounded stream. Her head and waist are bound with leafy withes of the willow—so common to the Schuylkill—and she holds on her shoulder a bittern, a bird loving its quiet shady banks.

This statue, often miscalled the Lady and the Swan, or Leda and the Swan, is Rush's best work, and a Philadelphia beauty is said to have consented to be his model.

The painting shows, among other things, a full-length statue of Washington, intended for a ship's figure-head; a female figure, personating the water-power; and some old-fashioned ship scrolls of the time. The Washington is now in Independence Hall, and the female figure is on the wheel-house at Fairmount.

The Academy owns casts of several of William Rush's portrait busts; among them a portrait of himself.

A picture in the Academy, by Krimmel, an

early Philadelphia painter, shows the original position of the forebay statue in Centre Square. (PAFA, Special Exhibition of Paintings by American Artists at Home and in Europe, November 7—December 6, 1881, no. 242)

The central theme of the painting is the legend that a respectable lady, Louisa Vanuxem, the daughter of a prominent Philadelphia merchant, had posed in the nude for an artist who, in his own time, was a respected citizen and a member of City Council and had served on the Board of Directors of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts. But it was intended to be more than just the illustration of an historical legend. It can be seen as an apologue explaining Eakins's own insistence on study from the nude model. This message was quite probably understood clearly by both his friends and his detractors. Indeed, disagreement over his teaching methods spurred the action of the Academy Board in May 1877 demanding that Christian Schussele no longer delegate any of his teaching authority, which left Eakins without a forum at the Academy in what was his first rejection by this institution.



Thirty years later, Eakins returned to the Rush theme (see no. 112), and at that time he was more explicit in identifying himself with the personality of the sculptor.

The painting was exhibited first at the Boston Art Club, from January 16 to February 9, 1878, and listed in the catalogue as number 170. When the painting was next shown, in New York in the spring of 1878, it was indeed the nudity that disturbed a critic writing in the New York Times (March 28, 1878): "What ruins the picture is much less the want of beauty in the nude model, (as has been suggested in the public prints,) than the presence in the foreground of the clothes of that young woman, cast carelessly over a chair. This gives the shock which makes one think about the nudity—and at once the picture becomes improper!"

29 SKETCH OF LAFAYETTE PARK, WASHINGTON, D.C. (IN WASHINGTON)
Goodrich 118
1877
Oil on wood panel
10¹/₂ x 14¹/₂" (26.7 x 36.8 cm)
Unsigned
Inscribed, lower right, by Mrs. Eakins: T.E.
Gift of Mrs. Thomas Eakins and
Miss Mary Adeline Williams
30-32-17

In the spring of 1877, Eakins received his first portrait commission, an exceedingly important one. The Union League of Philadelphia asked him to paint a likeness of the recently elected president of the United States, Rutherford B.

Hayes. Although it was suggested that he work from photographs, Eakins declined to do so, and instead requested that the president sit for him. Hayes was reluctant to grant this privilege, but eventually consented on the understanding that he would continue to work while Eakins painted him.

The sittings began in the fall of 1877. As could be expected, painting this portrait was not an easy task for the still relatively inexperienced young artist. Eakins himself described it later: "The President once posed, I never saw him in the same pose again. He wrote, took notes, stood up, swung his chair around. In short I had to construct him as I would a little animal" (Eakins to Charles Henry Hart, September 13, 1912; quoted in Gordon Hendricks, "The Eakins Portrait of Rutherford B. Hayes," The American Art Journal, vol. 1, no. 1, spring 1969, p. 114). The portrait was completed before December 1877, when it was exhibited at the Haseltine Galleries and was well received by the critics. It was delivered to the Union League, and briefly shown there; afterward it was sent to Hayes at the White House and has not been seen since (Hendricks, *Life*, p. 118).

All that remains today to remind us of Eakins's first portrait commission and his hours at the White House is this small sketch, which Eakins painted while waiting for the president. It is a view of Lafayette Park seen from a second-story window of the White House. In the center is Clark Mills's statue of Andrew Jackson, America's first equestrian monument in bronze, which had been unveiled in January 1853. To the right of the statue is the tower of

Benjamin Latrobe's Church of St. John, much as it stands today.

This view of Lafayette Park is among the first works that Eakins painted on wood panels. Subsequently he used wood supports quite frequently, especially from 1879 through 1883, particularly for outdoor sketches. Most of these panels are about the same size, slightly larger than 10 by 14 inches but never as large as 11 by 15 inches. We may assume that Eakins carried such panels in his paint box, which must have been equipped with an easel device to accommodate two or three small panels in such a way that only the edges were cradled and the wet surfaces could not touch each other.

30 THE MARE JOSEPHINE

Goodrich 499
1878 (cast 1930)
Bronze
22¹/₈ x 27¹/₄ x 4" (56.2 x 69.2 x 10.2 cm)
Signed, center: EAKINS / 78.
Stamped on front rim of base, at right: ROMAN
BRONZE WORKS N.Y.
Inscribed on reverse, on bronze block: R.B.
1291–1
Gift of Mrs. Thomas Eakins and
Miss Mary Adeline Williams
30-32-23

THIS RELIEF WAS the first of a series of works that grew out of Eakins's friendship with Fairman Rogers, which began in March 1878, when Rogers as chairman of the Pennsylvania Academy's Committee on Instruction asked Eakins to return to the Academy as a volunteer instructor. During the next five years, Rogers encouraged Eakins in his zeal to create a rigorous, thorough teaching program at the Academy, based on intense, direct observation.

Fairman Rogers (1833–1900), a brilliant and well-to-do civil engineer, had a passionate love for horses and coaching. He maintained a stud farm near Springfield in Delaware County, Pennsylvania, where Eakins took a group of Academy students each summer to study Rogers's horses. His favorite horse was the mare Josephine, the right-hand leader of his coaching team and, according to Rogers, "as nearly as possible perfection in all her points" (Fairman Rogers, *A Manual of Coaching*, Philadelphia, 1900, p. 380).

Eakins modeled the relief of Josephine in clay, then cast it in plaster. It was his first sculpture in relief, a technique that was of ongoing interest to him and would later become the subject of one of his lectures (see no. 56). He probably made this relief as a teaching aid, pos-



30

sibly at Rogers's farm, since live horses were not then available for study in the Academy's studios. That was changed three years later when, at the insistence of Rogers, live horses were introduced as models at the Academy (see no. 45).

The relief of Josephine survived in plaster and was cast in bronze only after the artist's death. The casting of this, and of most of the other plasters that remained in Mrs. Eakins's possession, was carried out during 1930. Mrs. Eakins commissioned the Roman Bronze Works of Long Island to make a single bronze cast of the relief for the purpose of presenting it to this Museum. According to their ledger books,* the model for this cast was received on February 11, 1930. The relief was cast from wax, and Mrs. Eakins specified a very light, gold bronze, natural patina. The cast was shipped on April 7, 1930, but the records do not indicate that the original model was returned. The number R.B. 1291-1 inscribed on the reverse of this cast is the foundry's job number.

On January 31, 1930, Henri Marceau, then curator of fine arts at the Philadelphia Museum of Art and later its director, had warned Mrs. Eakins against unauthorized casts:

It occurred to me, and it probably has to you, that considerable care should be exercised in preventing any more copies being cast than you intended. It is possible for casters, who might see the possibility of some unauthorized sale, to cast an extra copy or so. Your interests in this matter are probably being taken care of by Mr. Murray and you might care to say a word to him in this respect. (PMA Archives)

*This information was kindly provided by Phyllis Rosenzweig, Curatorial Assistant, Hirsbborn Museum.



3 I



31 Reverse

Mrs. Eakins, however, did not see it that way. On March 4, 1930, she wrote to Fiske Kimball, then director of the Philadelphia Museum of Art:

It gives me pleasure to add to the Exhibition of my husbands pictures, bronze casts of his sculpture work. The originals of the casts I am presenting to the Museum, remain for the present in the care of Mr. Riccardo Bertelli, President of the Roman Bronze Works. It is well, that I make it understood, that it is my intention, to all Institutions and Museums which may be interested, to allow copies of Mr. Eakins sculpture and anatomical work, provided they will have them cast in bronze.

The relief of figures in Arcadia and the relief of single figure, which I had to send in plaster, I hope later on to have cast in bronze.

I consider this bronze work most beautiful. (PMA Archives)

The Roman Bronze Works foundry used the lost-wax, or *cire perdue*, process for bronze casting, which Riccardo Bertelli is credited with introducing in America. In this method a hollow wax model is first made from the original plaster, with the exact thickness desired for the bronze. The wax is enclosed in a molding compound similar to plaster, called the "investment," which is then heated to melt off the wax. Into the resulting void, molten bronze is poured. After the bronze has cooled, the investment is chipped off, leaving a hollow, bronze replica.

A lost-wax east can be distinguished from a sand cast, the method used for the first casts of Eakins's reliefs *Spinning* and *Knitting* (see nos. 47







32 A



32 D



32 B

and 48), by comparing the inside of the bronze. In a sand cast the inside has a hand-cut, geometric quality because the sand was shaped by the caster; in a lost-wax cast the inside looks fluid because its shape was formed by wax.

The other Eakins sculptures known to have been cast by the Roman Bronze Works for Mrs. Eakins in 1930 are Skeleton of a Horse (Goodrich 500; Butler Institute of American Art, Youngstown, Ohio), The Mare Josephine (Ecorché) (no. 45), seventeen anatomical casts (no. 36; plus one in a private collection), Spinning (no. 47), Knitting (no. 48), Arcadia (Goodrich 506; collection of James Wyeth), An Arcadian (Goodrich 507; collection of Mr. and Mrs. John D. Rockefeller 3rd), A Youth Playing the Pipes (Goodrich 508; Hirshhorn Museum), Clinker (no. 85), and Clinker (Goodrich 510; Hirshhorn Museum).

31 SKETCH FOR "THE FAIRMAN ROGERS FOUR-IN-HAND"

Goodrich 134

1879

Oil on wood panel

 $10^{1}/_{4} \times 14^{1}/_{2}'' (26 \times 36.8 \text{ cm})$

Unsigned

Inscribed, lower right, by Mrs. Eakins: T.E.

Reverse:

MRS. FAIRMAN ROGERS (STUDY FOR "THE FAIRMAN ROGERS FOUR-IN-

HAND")

Goodrich 134

1879

Oil on wood panel

 $14^{1/2} \times 10^{1/4}'' (36.8 \times 26 \text{ cm})$

Unsigned

Gift of Mrs. Thomas Eakins and Miss Mary Adeline Williams

30-32-18

"There is something so exhilarating in the motion behind four horses, through the fresh air," wrote Fairman Rogers in his *Manual of Coaching*, "that even stupid people wake up, and for once make themselves agreeable" (quoted in Horace Howard Furness, *F.R.*, Philadelphia, 1903, p. 19). But being a civil engineer with a scientific turn of mind, Rogers could not simply enjoy coaching, he had to make it the subject of a thorough investigation, which eventually resulted in the *Manual of Coaching*, an exhaustive volume of 579 pages in which no detail of the subject was overlooked. The book was first published in 1900 and there can be no doubt that it took decades to prepare.

Possibly as early as the fall of 1878, after Eakins had completed his relief sculpture of the mare Josephine (no. 30), Rogers commissioned the artist to create an accurate picture of his coach-and-four, with Rogers at the reins. The incentive may well have been the appearance of Eadweard Muybridge's startling instantaneous photographs of horses in action, which created great excitement in the summer of 1878. These photographs, taken in rapid succession, revealed for the first time the exact positions of a horse's legs while trotting, an action that is too fast for the eye to see. Rogers obtained six of Muybridge's original photographs, which he gave to the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts in 1878: "Six cards of automatic electrophotographs, by Merrybridge [sic], of San Francisco, representing the horse in motion, presented by Fairman Rogers" (The Times [Philadelphia], February 4, 1879). Rogers showed them to Eakins who "took them up for examination" (Fairman Rogers, "The Zoötrope," The Art Interchange, vol. 3, no. 1, July 9, 1879, p. 2).

The earliest documentation that can be connected with Eakins's work on The Fairman Rogers Four-in-Hand (no. 35) appears in a letter written by William Sartain to his mother on June 14, 1879: "Tom Eakins goes off to Newport Monday" (Sartain Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia). That would have been Monday, June 16, 1879, probably Eakins's first visit to Fairholm, Rogers's summer cottage at Ochre Point in Newport. It was there that Eakins painted this first sketch of Rogers's coach and team, shown against the bare, rugged terrain of the shore drive near Newport. The sketch was probably painted outdoors, as is suggested by the use of a paint-box panel, but Eakins must have been aided by the Muybridge photographs—or a second series, which by that time had been published—because, of course,

his eye could not have captured the movement of the horses' legs. In fact, the positions of the horses' legs correspond closely to the four consecutive stages in Muybridge's instantaneous photographs of the horse Edgington trotting, taken in 1878 or 1879 (William I. Homer with the assistance of John Talbot, "Eakins, Muybridge and the Motion Picture Process," *The Art Quarterly*, vol. 26, no. 2, summer 1963, p. 201, fig. 9). This relationship was pointed out by Homer and Talbot in studying Eakins's models of the horses (no. 32), but is present even in the first sketch.

It cannot be by chance that the four horses sequentially represent the full cycle of trotting. It is even likely that the very point of Eakins's composition was to show this, to make a painting that for the first time in history would depict the exact movement of horses accurately, incorporating what had recently been discovered about the horse in motion. Surely this idea would have appealed to Rogers and Eakins, who were both so fascinated with Muybridge's experiments and so much concerned with the revelation of scientific accuracy in painting.

In this sketch, the coach is moving from left to right, unlike the final picture where it is traveling in the opposite direction. Three riders sit on top of the coach, Fairman Rogers in the driver's seat, Mrs. Rogers (1834–1914) next to him, and a single groom in the rumble seat. The sketch is squared off with five horizontal lines and eleven vertical ones, one inch apart. This was not done to enlarge the painting, but to reduce it, for it is now known that this sketch served Eakins as the model for a much smaller oil painting on a fan, which he later presented to Mrs. Rogers (Appendix B, fig. 5). The fan shows the same background and the same position of the coach and horses, but two gentlemen, two ladies, and two grooms now ride atop the coach, and the red parasol, prominent in the final version, has already been introduced.

On the reverse of the wood panel is a study of Mrs. Rogers's head, facing left, her profile as it appears in the final painting. Two scored lines probably aided the artist in reducing and transferring the head of Mrs. Rogers onto the finished work. This study must have been made about the time of the detail studies of the horses (see no. 33), after Eakins decided to change the direction of the coach.



32 MODELS OF HORSES FOR "THE FAIRMAN ROGERS FOUR-IN-HAND" 1879 (cast 1946) Bronze, marble base Bequest of Mr. and Mrs. William M. Elkins ∴ Left Leader Horse $9^{1/2} \times 12^{1/4} \times 2^{3/4}$ " (24.1 × 31.1 × 7 cm) Unsigned 50-92-34 B Right Leader Horse (The Mare Josephine) $9^{7}/_{16} \times 11^{7}/_{8} \times 2^{3}/_{4}^{"}$ (24 × 30.2 × 7 cm) Unsigned 50-92-35 C Left Wheeler Horse $9^{5}/_{16} \times 11^{3}/_{4} \times 2^{3}/_{4}'' (23.7 \times 29.8 \times 7 \text{ cm})$ Unsigned 50-92-36 D Right Wheeler Horse $9^{7}/_{16} \times 11^{15}/_{16} \times 2^{7}/_{8}''$ (24 x 30.3 x 7.3 cm)

Unsigned

50-92-37

It was not Eakins's method to construct a painting out-of-doors. His method, rooted in the academic tradition, was to assemble the necessary elements of a picture in fragmentary form and use them in the studio to compose his painting. Just as he had made wax models (no. 26) to help him organize the composition of William Rush Carving His Allegorical Figure of the Schuylkill River (no. 28), Eakins used wax models

for The Fairman Rogers Four-in-Hand (no. 35), in this case models of the four horses. Eakins probably modeled them while he was in Newport, positioning the horses' legs to correspond to those in Muybridge's photographs (see no. 31). Using these models of the horses, Eakins was able to experiment in the studio with their positions to determine the most satisfactory composition for the final picture. He eventually chose a three-quarter view-more compact than the first sketch in Newport (no. 31) and one that would allow for more passengers on top of the coach—and reversed the composition, showing the horses from the other side, which he could have done only from the three-dimensional models.

Each of Eakins's original wax models was built over a wire armature, with a metal post rising from the base to support the center of the horse's body. In 1946 the waxes were owned by Knoedler and Company of New York, who ordered them cast in bronze. It is not known how many sets of bronze casts were made, but a second set is in a private collection along with the original waxes.



30-32-11

33 STUDY OF HINDQUARTERS OF LEFT LEADER HORSE FOR "THE FAIRMAN ROGERS FOUR-IN-HAND" Goodrich 182 1879 Oil on wood panel $14^{1}/_{2} \times 10^{1}/_{4}'' (36.8 \times 26 \text{ cm})$ Unsigned Reverse: STUDY OF A GROOM Goodrich 182 About 1879 Oil on wood panel $14^{1/2} \times 10^{1/4}'' (36.8 \times 26 \text{ cm})$ Unsigned Gift of Mrs. Thomas Eakins and Miss Mary Adeline Williams

Eakins was determined to make every detail of The Fairman Rogers Four-in-Hand (no. 35) as accurate as possible. Therefore, he painted many studies of the four horses fitted out with their monogrammed harnesses. This one shows the hindquarters of the left leader horse with the position of the legs very much as they appear in the final painting. In this study, Eakins was interested only in grasping the movement of the legs. He seems to have changed their position several times, as the background, which is painted around them, reveals.



33 Reverse

This is one of at least seven similar studies, all painted on wooden paint-box panels that originally measured about 141/2 by 101/2 inches (see no. 29). In all these studies the horses are facing three-quarters left, as in the final painting; therefore, these detail sketches must have been painted after the first sketch of the coach (no. 31) and after the fan presented to Mrs. Rogers (Appendix B, fig. 5), possibly during Eakins's second visit to Newport, from September 9 to early October 1879.

The reverse of the panel carries a colorful outdoor study of the head of a man. Mrs. Eakins labeled it "Boatman," but, as Hendricks pointed out (*Life*, p. 342), it is more likely the portrait of one of Fairman Rogers's grooms, painted in Newport when Eakins was making his studies of the horses.



34

34 FAIRMOUNT PARK (SKETCH FOR "THE FAIRMAN ROGERS FOUR-IN-HAND")

Goodrich 136 1879 or 1880 Oil on wood panel 14⁹/₁₆ x 10¹/₄" (37 x 26 cm) Unsigned

Inscribed, lower right, by Mrs. Eakins: Fair Mount Park / T.E.; Eakins

Inscribed, on reverse at right, by Mrs. Eakins: 'Study in Fairmount Park.' / T.E.

Reverse:

30-32-10

COLOR NOTE FOR "THE FAIRMAN ROGERS FOUR-IN-HAND"

1879 or 1880
Oil on wood panel
10¹/₄ x 14⁹/₁₆" (26 x 37 cm)
Unsigned
Gift of Mrs. Thomas Eakins and

Miss Mary Adeline Williams

The original title of *The Fairman Rogers Four-in-Hand* (no. 35) was *A May Morning in the Park*. It was Eakins's intention to depict Fairman Rogers and his coaching party driving along a roadway in Fairmount Park, which was a popular diversion for fashionable Philadelphians. Thus he made this sketch of the park to incorporate it as a background in the painting. Hendricks has suggested that this view shows a small bridge located behind Memorial Hall, the art exhibition building of the Centennial exposition, where today one would see the Japanese Garden and Teahouse in the background.

This sketch poses a curious problem for the student of Thomas Eakins. Having traced the artist's preoccupation with accuracy and his determination to make every detail of his paint-



34 Reverse



ings correct, one would assume that Eakins would not have set out to paint the landscape of A May Morning in the Park in any month but May. Other artists might have painted the spot in the summer and made slight corrections to suggest the earlier season, but Eakins would not have been so imprecise. Yet the first known sketch for the painting (no. 31) could not have been made before the middle of June 1879, and in that work the final composition had not even been decided upon. Thus Eakins may have waited until the following year before painting this sketch (and possibly another one listed by Goodrich as number 135), which shows a specific location in the park in spring foliage.

We know that Rogers paid for the final painting in 1880* and that it was first exhibited in November 1880. This would mean that the sketch of Fairmount Park could have been painted in May 1880 in order to aid Eakins with the completion of the background. Eakins would have already painted the coach and horses, but still needed the specifics of color provided by this sketch to complete the background. Although *The Fairman Rogers Four-in-Hand* is dated 1879, this cannot be used as proof that this sketch and the painting were completed in that year. It is known that Eakins worked through the summer of 1885 on *The*

Swimming Hole (fig. 4; Goodrich 190), yet the painting is dated 1883; and there are other examples as well to show that he would inscribe a work with the date that he had begun it, rather than with the date of its completion.

Other alternatives may be offered to explain what might seem a contradiction in our understanding of Eakins. One possibility is that two separate compositions were being considered from the start, and that initial studies, now lost, were made in Fairmount Park in May before Rogers's coach-and-four went to Newport for the summer season. Another possibility is that the title was bestowed after the painting was completed, possibly not even by Eakins. And, of course, a third alternative is that Eakins did not always hold true to his ways, and that he painted the sketch during the summer of 1879.

The reverse of the panel has just a few brushstrokes of color, which Eakins probably made on the spot to provide him with the exact hue of the orange-brown road, the gray stone parapet, and the green foliage when he went to paint these elements in his studio.

*This information was kindly provided by Lloyd Goodrich from his transcriptions of material in Mrs. Eakins's possession. 35 THE FAIRMAN ROGERS FOUR-IN-HAND (A MAY MORNING IN THE PARK) Goodrich 133 1879-80 Oil on canvas (rebacked) 23³/₄ x 36" (60.3 x 91.4 cm) Signed on bridge masonry, at left: EAKINS. / 79 Gift of William Alexander Dick 30-105-I

FAIRMAN ROGERS had agreed to pay Eakins \$500 for this painting of his coach, which was originally called A May Morning in the Park. This was the highest price received by the artist for a picture up to that time. Many preliminary sketches were made for the painting in the summer and fall of 1879 (nos. 31 and 33, others in the Hirshhorn Museum, as well as some that are lost), when Eakins made at least two visits to Rogers's summer cottage in Newport. The final composition was painted in the artist's Philadelphia studio during the fall and winter of 1879, but the background may not have been completed until the spring or summer of 1880 (see no. 34).

Lavish detail is expended on all parts of the coach and horses, as well as on the passengers. Fairman Rogers is in the driver's seat, with Mrs. Rogers beside him; in the next row, from left to right, are Mr. and Mrs. Franklin A. Dick and Mr. and Mrs. George Gilpin. Mrs. Dick was Mrs. Rogers's sister and George Gilpin, her brother. The coaching party is also accompanied by two grooms. Eakins made accurate portrait studies of all these people much like his sketch of Mrs. Rogers's head (no. 31, reverse),

but these are now lost.

The pinholes evident in the coach's wheels and its forward part as well as the slightly raised straight lines of the coach indicate that the drawing of the coach was transferred by mechanical means from a detailed perspective study of this greatly admired drag made by Barker & Co. in London. Rogers may well have supplied Eakins with accurate scale drawings for this purpose. There is a mechanical quality to the painting of the coach that is reminiscent of the hard rendering of the shell in *The Pair-*Oared Shell (no. 11), done after meticulous perspective drawings, or the foreground boats of Sailboats Racing (no. 12).

The Fairman Rogers Four-in-Hand was first publicly exhibited in November 1880 at the second annual exhibition of the Philadelphia Society of Artists and was not well received. Gordon Hendricks ("A May Morning in the Park," PMA Bulletin, vol. 60, no. 285, spring 1965, pp. 48-64) cites several contemporary critics who

expressed their disappointment because the painting gives no sense of motion, or because there is an apparent inconsistency between the frozen action of the horses' legs and the blurred spokes of the wheels. Eakins's friend William J. Clark, Jr., wrote in the Evening Telegraph: "The artist has worked on this picture since we saw it shortly after it was placed in the gallery of the owner, and he has not improved it. The distance is too near, the background having both too much color and too much force for the rest of the picture" (November 4, 1880). Clark must have seen the painting in Rogers's house earlier that year, and noticed that Eakins had altered it since, but he did not specify what Eakins had changed. Hendricks (cited above, pp. 58-59) assumes that Eakins repainted the wheels, because Joseph Pennell is later reported to have said that Eakins first "drew every spoke in the wheels, and the whole affair looked as if it had been instantaneously petrified" ("Photography as a Hindrance and a Help to Art," British Journal of Photography, vol. 38, no. 1618, May 8, 1891, p. 295). Yet, x-rays should show these spokes if they exist under the visible paint but they are not there. It seems more likely that Eakins reworked the background, using the sketch in Fairmount Park (no. 34) as his guide, as Clark implied in mentioning that the background had too much color and too much force

for the rest of the picture.

A curious disparity does exist among the various elements of the painting. Especially strange are the scale and number of the figures, who overwhelm the coach and horses; the lighting on Mrs. Rogers, which matches that of the sketch (no. 31, reverse) but comes from a different angle from that illuminating the other figures; and the inconsistency in the depiction of motion—the blurred spokes of the wheels and the precise outlines of the horses' legs. The fact that Eakins constructed this painting in his studio from oil sketches made on the spot, sculptural models, scale drawings, and color notes perhaps accounts for these apparent contradictions, which might seem to be out of keeping with Eakins's professed goal of painting the world as he saw it. Although The Fairman Rogers Four-in-Hand departs from a simple "photographic" image of a coach in the park, it does reproduce reality as Eakins knew it to be, and at the same time conveys an intensity that transforms it into a significant work of art.

36 ANATOMICAL CASTS

1877-80 (cast 1930)

Bronze

A Right Foot

1877

Length 121/2" (31.8 cm)

Unsigned

Stamped on heel, left side: THOMAS EAKINS

Gift of Mr. and Mrs. R. Sturgis Ingersoll

B Right Hand

1877-80

Length 101/4" (26 cm)

Unsigned

Stamped on cutoff: THOMAS EAKINS

Gift of Mr. and Mrs. R. Sturgis Ingersoll

40-9-1

C Right Side of Head

1877-80

Length (including mount) 121/16" (30.6 cm)

Unsigned

Stamped on mount, lower left: THOMAS EAKINS

Stamped on bottom edge: ROMAN BRONZE WORKS

NY

Gift of R. Sturgis Ingersoll

44-35-5

D Right Elbow

1877-80

Length 61/2" (16.5 cm)

Unsigned

Stamped on top cutoff: Thomas eakins

Gift of R. Sturgis Ingersoll

44-35-11

E Left Knee

1877-80

Length 10¹/₂" (26.7 cm)

Unsigned

Stamped on top cutoff: Thomas eakins

Gift of R. Sturgis Ingersoll

44-35-9













F Left Arm, Hand, and Part of Shoulder 1877-80 Length 301/4" (76.8 cm) Unsigned Stamped on rim of shoulder: THOMAS EAKINS Inscribed inside cast, on bronze block: RB 1291-7 Gift of R. Sturgis Ingersoll 44-35-12 G Front of Neck and Part of Shoulder 1877-80 Length 15⁹/₁₆" (39.5 cm) Unsigned Stamped on right shoulder, at back: THOMAS EAKINS Stamped on left shoulder, at bottom: ROMAN. BRONZE, WORK, N.Y. Gift of R. Sturgis Ingersoll 44-35-6

H Left Side of Neck and Chin 1877–80 Length 11¹/₂" (29.2 cm) (diagonal) Unsigned Stamped on right edge: Fhomas Eakins Inscribed inside cast, on bronze block: 1291-9 Gift of R. Sturgis Ingersoll 44-35-14





I Back of Shoulder 1877-80 Length 181/2" (47 cm) Unsigned Stamped on left edge: THOMAS EAKINS Inscribed inside cast, on bronze block: RB Gift of R. Sturgis Ingersoll 44-35-4 | Shoulder 1877-80 Length 9" (22.9 cm) (diagonal) Unsigned Stamped on cutoff: THOMAS EAKINS Gift of R. Sturgis Ingersoll K Left Half of Vertebral Column, Pelvis, and Upper Half of Thigh 1877-80 Length 201/2" (52.1 cm) Unsigned Stamped on thigh, at bottom: THOMAS EAKINS Inscribed inside cast: 13 Gift of R. Sturgis Ingersoll 44-35-8 L Left Leg, Thigh, and Pelvis 1877-80 Length $37^{3}/_{4}''$ (95.9 cm) Signed on cut through pelvis: E Stamped on rim of cut, below signature: THOMAS EAKINS Gift of R. Sturgis Ingersoll 44-35-10





36 J







36 M

M Front of Male Torso 1880 Length 29¹/₄" (74.3 cm) Unsigned Stamped on edge of left hip: THOMAS EAKINS Gift of R. Sturgis Ingersoll 44-35-7 N Back of Male Torso 1880 Length 30¹/₄" (76.8 cm) Unsigned Stamped on edge of right hip: THOMAS EAKINS Gift of R. Sturgis Ingersoll 44-35-13



O Right Thigh, Leg, and Foot 1880 Length 30" (99.1 cm) Signed on rim of thigh, within the shape of a palette: PENNA. ACAD / FINE ARTS. / EAKINS. / Inscribed inside cast, on bronze block: RB 1201-10 Gift of R. Sturgis Ingersoll 44-35-2 P Right Shoulder, Arm, and Hand Length 271/2" (69.9 cm) Unsigned Inscribed on shoulder cutoff: 2 Stamped inside shoulder: THOMAS EAKINS Gift of R. Sturgis Ingersoll 44-35-3





Lectures on artistic anatomy were given by Dr. William Williams Keen at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts from the time of its reopening in 1876 until 1890. Keen, a leading Philadelphia surgeon, believed as Eakins did in a very thorough, naturalistic training for aspiring artists. In his lectures he demonstrated anatomy with living models, statues, skeletons, and écorchés (anatomical figures deprived of skin to reveal the muscular structure), and he also introduced the dissection of cadavers or "subjects," which he himself supplied. Probably, there was never a more thorough course in artistic anatomy than the one taught by Dr. Keen.

When Dr. Keen initiated his lectures, Eakins was teaching the evening life-drawing class at the Academy as Schussele's assistant. He took an intense interest in the anatomy course, for it was a subject that had fascinated him for a long time: as a student he had attended anatomy lectures at Jefferson Medical College, and, unusual for an American artist, he had also dissected there. Eakins was thus able to assist

Dr. Keen as prosector whenever this was called for. In Keen's first report to the Board of Directors, which was submitted in April 1877, he thanked Eakins for this help: "I cannot refrain also from expressing my very deep obligations to Mr. Eakins & some of the students who by their very careful & admirable dissections of the subjects I had, lightened my labors very materially. Mr. Eakins also dissected & has made casts of the muscles of the Cat & the Dog for the collection of the Academy. He expects soon to dissect with Equal care the Horse & the Sheep" (Report to the Board of Directors,

April 7, 1877, PAFA Archives).

Two years later Keen reported that casts could "be furnished very readily & very cheaply to the students many of whom have availed themselves of the opportunity" (Report to the Board of Directors, May 10, 1879, PAFA Archives). It is known that many such sets of casts were made, although surprisingly few are known today. Some of the casts were painted in shades of red and ochre to distinguish bones, muscles, and tendons, and the Latin terms describing anatomical features were inscribed on the appropriate area in Eakins's typical block lettering. A complete set of painted casts was presented by the Academy to the University of Pennsylvania and to the Academy of Natural Sciences (both sets are now lost), and of course some were sold to students.

In 1883, the Academy obtained an estimate from Bureau Brothers, a well-known bronzecasting firm in Philadelphia, for the casting of a complete set of anatomical plasters. Bureau Brothers cast one hand as a sample (now lost), for which they were paid \$13.50 (Minutes of the Committee on Instruction, April 25, 1883, PAFA Archives), but the rest of the bronze casting was never carried out, in all likelihood because Fairman Rogers ceased to head the Committee on Instruction at that time.

Eventually, the Academy's plaster casts were broken with use and were discarded. Since then, in 1960, the Academy acquired another set of casts, a set that had originally been given by Eakins to Samuel Murray and later used by him when teaching at the Philadelphia School of Design for Women (now Moore College of Art).

Eakins kept a set of anatomical plaster casts in his studio. In his 1930 catalogue (p. 32), Marceau counted seventeen plaster "échorchés" owned by Mrs. Eakins, and it was these pieces that Mrs. Eakins had cast in bronze in 1930. After her death they were acquired by R. Sturgis Ingersoll, who later gave sixteen of them to

the Museum. (The seventeenth, a cast of a foot, was kept for his own collection.) As Samuel Murray wrote to Ingersoll: "I have often heard Mr Eakins say it was Mr. Rodgers idea then to have them cast in bronze. It was not until a couple of years ago that I persuaded Mrs. Eakins to carry out the long defferred wishes of Mr Eakins. . . . I am delighted a Philadelphian procured them" (November 28, 1939, PMA Archives).

These anatomical bronze casts are listed in what appears to be the chronological sequence of the original plaster casts. By no means were all the casts made from one cadaver, as has been suggested. The earliest is the foot (A), which exists also as a plaster, dated 1877, in the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts. The latest, given the 1880 date on the cast of the . right thigh, leg, and foot (o), are casts M through P, probably made from the same male body, said to have been that of a muscular stevedore killed in an accident. The other casts are arranged according to the perfection of their casting technique, assuming that the technique improved over the years. On the earlier ones some signs of hand modeling are evident where flaws in the cast had to be corrected, while the latest casts are very faithful reproductions of the flesh and bone surfaces. Of the Museum's sixteen casts, twelve are duplicated in the Academy's collection of plasters, but no equivalent plasters are known for casts B, D, G, and O. Six of the Academy's plasters are signed or initialed by Eakins, and ten are painted and inscribed with Latin nomenclature.

The bronzes were cast by the Roman Bronze Works of Long Island as unique items along with a number of other plasters in Mrs. Eakins's possession (see no. 30).



37 THE CRUCIFIXION
Goodrich 142
1880
Oil on canvas (rebacked)
96 x 54" (243.8 x 137.2 cm)
Unsigned
Inscribed on reverse of lining canvas: Christi
Efficiem Eakins Phil [...] Phiensis Pinxit
MDCCLXXX
Gift of Mrs. Thomas Eakins and
Miss Mary Adeline Williams
29-184-24

THE CRUCIFIXION was probably begun just after the completion of The Fairman Rogers Fourin-Hand (no. 35) and, like it, was intended to demonstrate to the art world what the new realism, which Eakins advocated, was all about. It was, according to Goodrich, his scientific interest that impelled Eakins to paint a Crucifixion, "saying that he had never seen a picture in which the figure [of Christ] was really hanging or seemed to be in the open air" (p. 105). Therefore he set out to make one. This Crucifixion was to be a realistic interpretation of an historical event—a man's death on the cross—devoid of any religious emotions or special effects. That he succeeded in this goal is apparent from the comments made in a review in The Art Journal in June 1882 (p. 190):

Mr. Eakins's studies in anatomy probably led him to undertake the work. It is not too much to claim, in deference to a large part of the public, that the artist who undertakes anything of the kind should endeavor to present it in a reverential light. . . . Mr. Eakins, on the other hand, paints as a student of the human body. The drooping head of Jesus affords an excellent opportunity, for his skill in foreshortening, the emaciated and extended body gives location to every bone, and when the feet are reached and one remarks the idiosyncracies of the toe-nails, the ideal which every one holds is degraded, and we realize that, in an age tending so strongly toward realism, there are subjects which should be left untouched.

The model for *The Crucifixion* was a young student, J. Laurie Wallace (1864–1953), who had entered the school of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts in 1878. Eakins took an immediate liking to Wallace and used him as a model for a number of paintings, photographs, and sculptures (*see*, for example, nos. 52 to 54). According to contemporary accounts, Eakins erected a cross outdoors on the roof of his house which could be seen from his studio window. There he placed Wallace, strapped to

the cross, and then painted the scene from the studio exactly as he saw it under brilliant sunlight. Eakins's passion for realism was founded in the tradition he had learned in France. It was well known, for instance, that his teacher Léon Bonnat had even gone so far as to purchase a cadaver and nail it to a cross, using it as a model for his "realistic" Crucifixion (exhibited in 1874).

Eakins must have worked on his final painting from a detailed study or photograph of the figure of Wallace. An oil study of the head and shoulders of Wallace is in the Hirshhorn Museum (Goodrich 143), but no full study or photograph is known. The study of the full figure would have been squared off for transferring to the large canvas, which itself is squared off in pencil at eight-inch intervals. As x-rays reveal, the design of the figure and cross with their sharp shadows was precisely transferred onto this grid (see Appendix B, fig. 6).

Surface and x-ray analysis has shown that the coloration of this painting was quite different when it was first painted. The sky was then a brilliant blue, and remnants of this color can be seen above the figure's right hand. The cross was a warm tan, some of which can still be seen on the top of the crosspiece. Certainly the painting would have been startling with a light-brown cross, orange-brown Crown of Thorns, and the pale body set against a brilliant blue sky. Such was the appearance of the picture when it was first shown in 1882 at the supplementary hanging of the annual exhibition of the Society of American Artists in New York. One reviewer, Mrs. Mariana Griswold Van Rensselaer, writing in The American Architect and Building News (vol. 11, no. 334, May 20, 1882, p. 231), praised its effect and its skill:

The whole has been most admirably modelled in full illumination, the light streaming on the figure from the spectator's left, and the only space of decided shadow being where the head falls forward on the right. The management of the light is extremely good, and Mr. Eakins shows himself here as capable of fine chiaroscuro as when his scale is low and his shadows more all-embracing. It is true, simple sunlight, moreover, not the calcium-light effect so often substituted therefor in French studios to-day. Those who have the least acquaintance with the painter's art must appreciate what a difficult task has thus been accomplished, to paint actual sunlight from a palpitating blue sky, to model a nude figure in this high light without the assistance of contrasting shadows, and to draw from such elements an impression in har-

mony with the tragic subject.

Subsequently, Eakins reworked the picture and changed it substantially. He covered the sky with rough-textured palette-knife strokes of a creamy gray paint, made the cross wider, added a rough surface to the planks, and rubbed gray into the flesh tones to accentuate the brushstrokes. When the reworking was done is not known but certainly it was after the first exhibition in 1882 at which time the brilliance of the sky and the sunshine attracted notice.

The Crucifixion immediately became a work of some controversy, with critics strongly disagreeing over its merits. Perhaps the most sympathetic review of the period was that of Mrs. Van Rensselaer, who continued in her praise of Eakins's work in *The American Architect and Building News* (cited above):

Of course this picture is no complete expression of that subject, for the higher physical elements are left entirely on one side; but this is not to be regretted, perhaps, for when attempted they have scarcely once been completely realized in the whole history of art; and what Mr. Eakins bas attempted he has, I think, completely given. This has been, not merely the rendering of physical agony, but the suggestion of desolateness, pathos and sacrifice. It is extremely difficult to put into words the impression made by such a picture, so strong, so repulsive in some ways, yet so deeply pathetic, partly by reason, perhaps, of that very repulsiveness. I can only speak for myself, when I say that after seeing a hundred crucifixions from modern hands this one seemed to me not only a quite original but a most impressive and haunted work.

Eakins himself must finally have been satisfied with The Crucifixion because he submitted it successively to a number of important exhibitions, among them the Detroit Art Loan (1883), the World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition in New Orleans (1884–85), the Southern Exposition in Louisville (1886), the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago (1893), the Carnegie Institute annual exhibition in Pittsburgh (1900), the Universal Exposition in St. Louis (1904), and the Panama-Pacific International Exposition in San Francisco (1915). When it was not traveling to special exhibitions, Eakins lent the painting to St. Charles Borromeo Seminary, where he spent a great deal of his time at the turn of the century (see no. 106).



38

Goodrich 141
About 1880 (unfinished)
Watercolor on paper
Watermark: none
15^{1/}₈ x 11^{1/}₁₆" (38.4 x 28.1 cm)
Unsigned

38 RETROSPECTION

Unsigned Inscribed, lower right, by Mrs. Eakins: Thomas

Eakins Gift of Mrs. Thomas Eakins and Miss Mary Adeline Williams

In 1880, Eakins did a small oil painting entitled Retrospection (Goodrich 140; Yale University Art Gallery), a sentimental subject showing a woman now known only as Mrs. Perkins wearing a long dress and seated in a Philadelphia Chippendale chair. The mood of the small painting, the old-fashioned gown, and the old chair recall earlier days, much as did the painting of William Rush in his studio (no. 28) and two of Eakins's other works, The Courtship, about 1878 (Goodrich 119; The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco), and In Grandmother's Time, dated 1876 (Goodrich 106). Eakins exhibited the painting under the title Study, which suggests that he may well have intended it as a study for this watercolor of the same subject. At a later date, Mrs. Eakins noted on a label on the back of the watercolor: "This water color was started after the oil called 'Retrospection' was finished." This would not be unusual for

Eakins, for it was his method to work out his composition in oil before painting a subject in watercolor (see no. 13). Indeed, his watercolors were thoroughly planned beforehand, and they were generally worked up in oil and then squared off for transferring. Although there are no squaring lines on the surface of the oil painting of *Retrospection*, the model and the pose are the same as in the watercolor, and the oil painting is of only slightly smaller dimensions. The oil is signed and dated 1880, and therefore we assume the watercolor was done in the same year or shortly thereafter.

Eakins never finished this watercolor, and thus it offers an unusual opportunity for the study of his watercolor technique. A vertical line running through the center of the paper intersects a horizontal line just above the face of the model, and the intersection is marked with a pinhole. A number of pencil lines are evident, which must have served as rough guides for the composition. A very light, almost timid pencil line defines the figure of the model. The paint technique is varied and somewhat inconsistent. There are tiny, staccato brushstrokes in the shaded face and in the upper part of her left arm. The ear, bodice of the dress, and the upper part of the chair are drawn with a pointed brush, while the hands, their shadows, and the bottom of the dress are quite broadly blocked in. The background treatment is equally varied: on the left it is dark and mottled with the brush going in several directions while at the right side it is painted thinly with horizontal strokes. The lower part of the dress and the foreground were left incomplete, and yet there is a very precise shadow leading from the leg of the chair to the unfinished train of the dress.

39 SAILBOATS ON THE DELAWARE

Hendricks 214 1881–82 Photograph (albumen print) $3^3/_{16} \times 3^7/_{8}''$ (8.1 x 9.8 cm) Unsigned Gift of Seymour Adelman 68-203-4

PROBABLY around 1880, Eakins purchased his first camera and began to take his own photographs (Hendricks, p. 1). Before that time he had collected photographs as souvenirs or for study. He had also painted from photographs (it is known that he used photographs of Dr. Gross when he painted *The Gross Clinic* in 1875). But his great interest in photography started around 1880 and, it would seem, continued to be strong until about 1895; few of his photographs can be dated after 1900.

Comparison of Eakins's photographs would suggest that they can be roughly divided into four categories. There are those shots that he, like many other amateur photographers, took as souvenirs of an event; those that he made as part of a scientific inquiry; those that he took to





help with his work on a specific painting or sculpture; and those photographs that he created as works of art in their own right. Among the first group are photographs of his relatives and students, and among the second, pictures of athletes and horses in motion taken in conjunction with the Muybridge project (see no. 58); while many of them are very beautiful indeed, they were not taken primarily for the sake of aesthetics. Included in the third category, photographs that relate to other of his works, are landscape photographs (see nos. 40 and 42) and studies for his relief Arcadia (see no. 53).

In contrast, Sailboats on the Delaware is an excellent example of Eakins using his camera to create a beautiful object. This photograph was not taken to become the basis of any known painting. Whether it was taken as a souvenir of a specific event or simply recalled a theme that had interested him earlier (see nos. 12 and 13) cannot be determined. But its interest to Eakins as a beautiful subject cannot be denied. Eakins

took full advantage of the possibilities of his camera. Analysis of the various details in the photograph can leave no doubt that the composition was chosen with great care. Eakins may have heightened the impact of the composition when he printed this negative. The dark clouds in the upper-right corner were probably created by dodging, a technique that gave this part of the print more exposure to light than the rest of the image.

The date of 1881–82 assigned to this photograph is far from certain. In its technical achievement it betrays a certain familiarity with the mechanics of the camera; yet it is known that Eakins's interest in selective focus, as it appears in his own paintings, occupied him primarily in the early 1880s. It would not be unreasonable to assume that Eakins created this photograph at the same time he was working on his paintings of fishing scenes along the Delaware River (see nos. 40 to 42), and concurrently investigating the pictorial possibilities of selective focus.

40 MENDING THE NET
Goodrich 155
1881
Oil on canvas (rebacked)
32¹/₈ x 45¹/₈" (81.6 x 114.6 cm)
Signed on base of windlass: EAKINS 81.
Gift of Mrs. Thomas Eakins and
Miss Mary Adeline Williams
29-184-34

MENDING THE NET is a quiet scene, showing a group of fishermen with their net spread out on a meadow to inspect it for flaws. Two children, one with a toy sailboat, watch them as they work, while a man sits under the tree reading a newspaper. The scene is on the New Jersey side of the Delaware River near Gloucester, and although the river can scarcely be seen on the horizon, it is, in reality, quite close, for the wooden machinery at right is a windlass, used to pull the heavy fish-laden nets up onto the beach. Eakins showed such a windlass in action in his watercolor *Drawing the Seine* (no. 42).

Hendricks has suggested (*Life*, p. 148) that the man reading a newspaper under the tree may be Eakins's friend William Sartain (*see* no. 51). Eakins and Sartain often sailed together on the Delaware on summer Sundays, and the painting was in all likelihood inspired by an actual scene that Eakins observed and either sketched or photographed on the banks of the Delaware on a Sunday sailing outing.

And yet, there can be little doubt that the painting was created entirely in the studio, based upon a number of studies, including several photographs. For example, Eakins used one of his photographs of a flock of geese (Hirshhorn Museum) as the basis for the group in the left foreground. These may even have been Eakins's first photographs, and *Mending the Net* is surely one of the earliest examples of an important American painting based on photo-

graphs.

Photography was even more important for its impact upon the composition. Whereas his earlier paintings, following the French academic tradition, were equally focused throughout (see no. 12), here for the first time he employed a technique of selective focus, achieving an overall image that resembles the photographs of his day. He carefully blurred the foreground and distant areas to lead the viewer to a predetermined focal point, the group of fishermen, which is painted differently from the rest of the composition. He contrasted minute precision and soft handling to manipulate the degree of focus of each figure. The man at left shows the most precise brushwork, his shirt and basket—even the buckle of his suspenders—are

painted with painstaking detail. However, his face and beard, which are in shadow, are not quite as distinct as the hand, while his hat and trousers are treated more softly than the shirt. There are subtle differences in the treatment of the other figures also, but in general, the handling becomes slightly softer with each figure to the right, with brushstrokes more blurred, folds, less distinct. The figure under the tree, seated in shadow, exhibits little detail or contrast in color. In the foreground, the geese are noticeably blurred and painted with little detail. This technical device was obviously an attitude inspired by photography, and a device Eakins used frequently in his later work. It seems to have been introduced around 1880, when, we are told, Eakins purchased his first camera.

When the painting was first exhibited in 1881, the sky was a brilliant blue, as mentioned in a review by Mrs. Mariana Griswold Van Rensselaer published in *The American Architect and Building News* (vol. 10, no. 314, December 31, 1881, p. 311):

This present example of his skill is of a different sort from those which have gone before. It is a bright green landscape under a bright blue sky, with a glimpse of sea in the background. Mr. Eakins's gift for color is less pronounced than his other endowments, and in its color one sees, perhaps, the only fault to be found with this picture. Other things may be forgiven, however, in our admiration for the fine group of little figures of fishermen mending a net, profiled against the sky in attitudes as various as they are life-like and individual. Each of these span-high figures is a treasure in itself, broadly yet delicately touched, with a mastery of form and expression unrivalled, I think, among our native artists, and unexcelled by similar work from any brush.

Like *The Crucifixion* (no. 37), *Mending the Net* was reworked by the artist at a later date, after the surface had been varnished. Originally, the gray sky was solid blue, which is now apparent on close examination of the painting. The blue sky was toned down with a thin layer of opaque gray, but this stops just short of the figures and the foliage of the tree.

Mending the Net was frequently exhibited by Eakins, who showed it for the first time at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts in 1881. In 1893, the painting was awarded the bronze medal at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago (*The Art Amateur*, vol. 29, no. 6, November 1893, p. 163).



41 SHAD FISHING AT GLOUCESTER ON THE DELAWARE RIVER Goodrich 152 1881 Oil on canvas (rebacked) 12¹/₈ x 18¹/₈" (30.8 x 46 cm) Unsigned Gift of Mrs. Thomas Eakins and Miss Mary Adeline Williams 29-184-33

Shad Fishing is thematically similar to *Mending the Net* (no. 40) and although this painting is not dated, it was probably done in the same year. The location of both scenes is the New Jersey shore of the Delaware River, but here we look down from a raised bank and see the full sweep of the river with a fishing boat and eleven fishermen, some in colorful yellow oilskins, who are taking up a net and piling it into a boat. In the left foreground is a group of spectators, which includes Eakins's father Benjamin and the family dog Harry. Hendricks (*Life*, pp. 148–49) has suggested that the other figures are Eakins's mother and two of his sisters.

Eakins painted four works dealing with this subject, each somewhat different (Goodrich 152-54, 160); only this work includes the family group. The watercolor in the Metropolitan Museum of Art bears the closest resemblance to the Philadelphia painting, but is a more tightly knit composition. Entitled *Taking up the Net*, it is signed and dated 1881. The existence of a photograph (Hendricks 32) very similar in composition to another of these works, *Hauling the Seine* at the Cincinnati Art Museum,

suggests that these fishing scenes were heavily dependent upon photographs. Shad Fishing was probably not based on a single photograph that Eakins copied faithfully (as was, for instance, Drawing the Seine, no. 42); instead, it would seem to be an arrangement based on various photographs as well as nature studies and possibly, given the presence of the family group, some studio poses.

It is interesting to note that when Eakins painted Shad Fishing, he at first intended the family group, without the dog, to stand behind a low sandbank that dominated the foreground. The bank, which is still visible, concealed the lower halves of these figures. Later he changed his mind and added the lower halves of the figures in a slightly different mixture of pigments and with slightly less care. The dog was also added at that time. A blurred foreground, in this case the sandbank, was to lead the eye of the viewer to the focal center, here Eakins's relatives, which are painted with surprising detail. The fishermen at mid distance are less precisely rendered, while the far bank of the river is blurred as it would have appeared in an early photograph. Again, as in Mending the Net, Eakins seems to have experimented with camera vision; but then, as he made his changes in the family group, he softened the impact of this particular vision. The result is a delightful, small painting, which on study yields innumerable subtleties of color, atmosphere, and character.



Goodrich 159 1882

Watercolor on paper Watermark: none

42 DRAWING THE SEINE

 $11^{1/4}$ x $16^{1/2}$ " (28.6 x 41.9 cm); composition $10^{1/8}$ x 13" (25.7 x 33 cm)

Signed on log, lower right: EAKINS / 82.

John G. Johnson Collection Cat. no. 989

Drawing the Seine, one of a group of fishing scenes done in the early 1880s (see nos. 40 and 41), is based directly upon a photograph taken by the artist (PAFA, Thomas Eakins: His Photographic Works, 1969, no. 52, fig. 61). Hendricks has identified the spot from which it was taken as Timber Creek estuary, Gloucester, New Jersey, a shad fishing area. In the center of the painting is a windlass with capstan (used to haul loaded fishnets onto land), being turned by a horse with the aid of several fishermen, but the fishnet, or seine, cannot be seen. A sailboat rides at anchor in the open water, presumably waiting to take the shad to market. The composition shows the same system of selective focus used in *Mending the Net* (no. 40). Here, one can see how Eakins incorporated the selective focus of his camera in his watercolor restatement of the photograph, restricting the sharpest detail to the area between the horse and the men working on the line. In painting the watercolor, Eakins selected the colors from his memory of the scene, organizing them perhaps into a more harmonious whole.

In 1887, Eakins gave the watercolor to the prominent lawyer John G. Johnson, who was at that time becoming Philadelphia's leading art collector. In 1930, when Lloyd Goodrich assembled the material for his book on Eakins, he transcribed a letter from Johnson to Eakins, dated March 28, 1887 (now lost): "I am very much your debtor for your delightful little watercolor, though I have had much hesitation in bringing myself to retain it. It is admirably drawn and composed, full of movement, air and sunlight and charming in color. My hesitation in retaining it has arisen from the fact that it was possible for me to be of so little service in the sad situation of your affairs. It will give me much pleasure in going over your father's will." We do not know what the sad situation in Eakins's affairs was that prompted him to call on Johnson, but it might possibly relate to problems surrounding his dismissal from the Academy (see no. 73), even though this had occurred more than a year earlier.



43 SKETCH OF A LANDSCAPE Goodrich 169 About 1882 Oil on cardboard 13 x 8³/₄" (33 x 22.2 cm); composition 4¹/₂ x 7" (11.4 x 17.8 cm) Unsigned

Reverse:
SKETCH OF A LANDSCAPE
Goodrich 169
About 1882
Oil on cardboard
8³/4 x 13" (22.2 x 33 cm); composition 4³/4 x 6¹/2"
(12.1 x 16.5 cm)
Unsigned
Gift of Seymour Adelman
47-96-1

In the Early 1880s, Eakins painted a group of works that reflect his interest in the landscape, choosing as his subject the area along the Delaware River near Gloucester, New Jersey (see nos. 40 to 42). However, only one painting (no. 44) and a number of sketches (Goodrich 162–77), including these two small oils, are pure landscapes, containing no figures. This was an interest that lasted for only a few years, and one might postulate that this brief involvement with landscape was directly related to Eakins's teaching at the Academy. Somewhat later, on May 5, 1884, Eakins discussed the problem of landscape sketches in a letter to one of his students, Harry Barnitz:

As for sunlight studies that is new too for you & I regret for a good many older fellows in the life school. The whole of the tones have to be transposed into another key as you would say in your music, transposed so that what you do for out of doors must look like out of doors only when in doors in the gallery or house light. When you get back you will hear a lot about sunlight from Tommy Anshutz & the crowd that went sketching with him & you will see their work and that of



43 Reverse

others in the exhibition. (Collection of Robert Gray Barnitz)

These two landscape sketches, on front and back of the same "aeademy board," are Eakins's own experiments outdoors. The board had been used before for other studies (the remains of three figure studies and the legs of a stool can still be seen), which were partly scraped off and eovered with gray oil paint to obtain a new paint surface. The board probably fit into the hid of Eakins's paint box (see no. 29), and was used and reused by him as he felt the need to make quick oil sketehes. Eakins attached little aesthetie importance to such sketches. As early as 1860, when he was studying in France, he wrote to his father: "I notice those who make such [fine] studies seldom make good pictures, for to make these wonderful studies they must make it their special trade . . . and pay all their attention to what they are putting on their canvas rather than in their heads. . . . The best artists never make what is so often thought by the ignorant, to be flashing studies" (quoted in Goodrieh, p. 26). It is not known if the two small views that can be seen on both sides of this board were ever used by Eakins to eompose a painting. While they may well have been painted in the same area as The Meadows, Gloucester (no. 44), the only finished landscape composition known to have been painted by Eakins, they bear little resemblance to this painting. It is more likely that Eakins painted these sketches to get the impression into his head, as he said, but then paid no further attention to them.

44 THE MEADOWS, GLOUCESTER
Goodrich 161
About 1882
Oil on canvas (rebacked)
31¹⁵/₁₆ x 45¹/₈" (81.1 x 114.6 cm)
Unsigned
Gift of Mrs. Thomas Eakins and
Miss Mary Adeline Williams
20-184-32

THE MEADOWS, GLOUCESTER is the only large finished landseape known to have been painted by Thomas Eakins. In keeping with Eakins's working method, it was probably executed in the studio, based on a small oil sketch done outdoors (Hendrieks, Life, fig. 122). The scene is in the farmlands of New Jersey, just east of the banks of the Delaware River, which also provided the location for his fishing pictures (see nos. 40 to 42). A label attached by Mrs. Eakins to the streteher of this eanvas identifies the subject of this painting: "Landscape Gloucester New Jersey Country back of the shad fisheries." The painting shows a marshy pasture with a stream running in the background, three cows at mid distance, and a farmhouse surrounded by trees at the left. The foreground is intentionally blurred and out of foeus. The cows in the middle ground are treated most precisely, painted in small strokes with great attention to texture and highlights. Here, Eakins's practice of concentrating detail toward a focal point is fully developed, and as in early photographs, all other areas are somewhat

The color is subtle, restricted to a narrow range; as a result, the understated painting



hardly attracted attention. Eakins exhibited it for the first time in 1884, at the annual exhibition of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, where it elicited little notice. Even Leslie Miller (see no. 102), whose exhibition reviews in The American Architect and Building News frequently comment on Eakins's work, did not single out this landscape, although he did mention a number of other "very lovely" landscapes shown at the same time (vol. 16, no. 468, December 13, 1884, p. 284).

45 THE MARE JOSEPHINE (ECORCHE)
Goodrich 502
1882 (cast 1930)
Bronze
22¹/₄ x 31 x 3" (56.5 x 78.7 x 7.6 cm)
Signed, center: EAKINS / 1882
Stamped on front rim of base, at right:
ROMAN BRONZE WORKS N.Y.
Gift of Mrs. Thomas Eakins and
Miss Mary Adeline Williams
30-32-25

EACH WINTER, Eakins took a group of his students to the factory of M.L. Shoemaker & Co., a bone-boiling establishment on Delaware Avenue in Philadelphia, where they were permitted to dissect horses and study their anatomy. Eakins also used a horse skeleton borrowed from the Academy of Natural Sciences in his lectures at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts. Finally, in January 1881, he had a ramp built behind the Academy building so that horses could be led from Burns Street into the Academy's freight elevator, pulled up to the first floor, and then led into the sculpture studio where the floor was carefully protected. Fairman Rogers proudly wrote about this successful venture:



During the past season, for the first time, a horse was used as the model for a six weeks' pose. . . . It is proposed to devote one pose each season to the horse or some other animal. . . as a dead horse, properly prepared, was in the dissecting room at the time that the living horse was in the modelling room, unusual opportunities were furnished to the student. The horse enters so largely into the composition of pictures and statuary, especially into works of the higher order, such as historical subjects, and is generally so badly drawn, even by those who profess to have made some study of the animal, that the work seems to be of value. Like the work from the human model, it is intended more to give an accurate fundamental knowledge of the animal, than to teach how to portray him in his varied movements, which are only to be studied out of doors. ("The Schools of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts," The Penn Monthly, vol. 12, June 1881, pp. 459-60)

In 1878, Eakins had made a low-relief plaque of Fairman Rogers's mare Josephine (no. 30), the right-hand leader of his coaching team. Four years later, he made a second relief of Josephine, now dead, as an écorché. Fairman Rogers probably donated the corpse to the Academy, where it must have been eagerly dissected by Eakins and his students. Afterward, Eakins must have modeled this second low relief, much like the first one in scale, but without the skin, showing the muscular system of the entire dissected horse. A detail of the neck muscles after the removal of additional flesh is also modeled at left. Eakins undoubtedly intended this relief, and the earlier one of Josephine, to aid him in teaching the anatomy of the horse. For that reason he carved away the background panel around the legs, so that they could be seen from front and back, and also showed dissecting cuts through some of the muscles, so that their structure could be more readily understood.

A plaster cast of the *écorché* of Josephine is owned by the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts. The Museum's bronze cast was commissioned by Mrs. Eakins in 1930, along with a group of other plasters in her possession (see no. 30).

Eakins also made a relief plaque of a horse skeleton (Goodrich 500; Hirshhorn Museum), which is somewhat smaller than the reliefs of Josephine. It has been said that this represents the bones of Josephine, but since the skeleton relief is dated 1878 and Josephine was still

around to pull Fairman Rogers's coach in 1879 (see nos. 31 to 35), the skeleton must have been that of another horse. It must be recognized in any case that the identification of the various studies of horses as Josephine is based solely on the recollections of Mrs. Eakins.

46 SPINNING
Goodrich 504
1882–83
Plaster
18³/₄ x 15¹/₈ x 3¹/₄" (47.6 x 38.4 x 8.3 cm)
Unsigned
Gift of Mrs. Arthur Savery Roberts
1976-163-1

Spinning and its companion piece Knitting (see no. 48) are Eakins's first sculptures done as works of art. His earlier works in this medium, such as the wax models for William Rush Carving His Allegorical Figure of the Schuylkill River (no. 26) or the horses for The Fairman Rogers Four-in-Hand (no. 32), were intended as studies for paintings. Even his reliefs of horses (nos. 30 and 45) cannot be considered pure sculpture because they were made primarily as demonstration pieces, much like the anatomical dissection casts (no. 36). When Eakins received the commission for these two panels, he studied the possibilities of relief sculpture more deeply and even wrote a lecture on the subject, which is included in his lecture manuscript (no. 56). All of Eakins's later sculptures were done as reliefs (see nos. 54, 55, 84, and 85).

In 1882, Eakins was commissioned to make two oval relief plaques for the chimneypiece of the house of the businessman James P. Scott at 2032 Walnut Street, then about to be built. The commission was apparently secured through Theophilus P. Chandler, Scott's architect, but eventually Eakins negotiated with Scott directly. The agreed price for the two reliefs, from which stone panels were to be carved, was \$400 each. But when Scott saw the unfinished clay models some time in 1883, he indicated that he might not accept them. This triggered an extensive correspondence between Eakins and Scott, which is partially quoted in Goodrich (pp. 64-65). Eventually the dispute was submitted to arbitration and ended with the notation in Eakins's account book (collection of Mr. and Mrs. Daniel W. Dietrich II) for June 8, 1885: "In settlement according to arbitration, the panels being returned to me to be my property & \$500 paid me to release Mr Scott from all liability for his order."



Spinning is one of the two chimney panels. Eakins based its composition on a watercolor, also entitled Spinning (Goodrich 146), which he had painted in 1881. His sister Margaret had posed for the watercolor but by this time she had died and the model for the relief was Ellen Wetherald Ahrens (1859–1936), an Academy student who later became an illustrator and miniature painter and also taught briefly, from 1891 to 1893, at the Philadelphia School of Design for Women (now Moore College of Art).

Posing for *Spinning* must have been quite arduous, for Eakins later reported to Scott: "After I had worked some weeks, the girl in learning to spin well became so much more graceful than when she had learned to spin only passably, that I tore down all my work and recommenced" (quoted in Goodrich, p. 64). The models that were sent to Scott, and the plasters that were exhibited in the annual exhibition of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts in 1883, are now lost. This plaster cast was one that Eakins gave to Ellen Ahrens in appreciation for the time and trouble it took to pose for the relief. The cast had at one time been broken and, according to Ahrens, was repaired by Eakins himself.

47 SPINNING
Goodrich 504
1882–83 (cast 1930)
Bronze
18¹/₄ x 14⁷/₈ x 2³/₄" (46.4 x 37.8 x 6.9 cm)
Unsigned
Inscribed, bottom center, by Roman Bronze
Works: SPINNING. / THOMAS EAKINS. / 1881.
Stamped on rim, bottom right: ROMAN BRONZE
WORKS N Y
Gift of Mrs. Thomas Eakins and
Miss Mary Adeline Williams
30-32-21

In 1886, after the dispute between James P. Scott and Eakins had been settled by arbitration and the panels Spinning and Knitting were again the property of the artist (see no. 46), Eakins commissioned Bureau Brothers of Philadelphia to make two bronze casts of each of the panels. His account book (collection of Mr. and Mrs. Daniel W. Dietrich II) lists a payment on March 2, 1886, of \$120 to Bureau Brothers for making four bronze castings of the "Scott panels." Bureau Brothers, a large firm specializing in the production of bronze statuary, fountains, railings, architectural work, and castings of every description, was the same firm that in 1883 had been paid \$13.50 for casting one of the anatomical plasters in bronze as a sample for the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts (see no. 36).

Eakins exhibited one set of the bronze casts of *Spinning* and *Knitting* at the Society of American Artists in New York in the spring of 1887, then sold one of the two bronze sets, together with a pair of *Spinning* and *Knitting* plasters, to Edward H. Coates, who had earlier commissioned *The Swimming Hole* (fig. 4; Goodrich 190) and then rejected it, choosing to purchase instead *The Pathetic Song* (fig. 3; Goodrich 148) in 1885. Coates, Fairman Rogers's successor as chairman of the Committee on Instruction at the Academy, was the man who, in February 1886, had asked for Eakins's resignation, ostensibly because of general disapproval of Eakins's use of completely nude models. But,



now, seventeen months later, on July 10, 1887, Eakins's account book records a receipt of \$200 for "Scott Panels": "Mr Edward H. Coates pays me for casts in bronze & plaster." In the same year, Coates gave the bronze casts to the Academy, where they still remain; however, the fate of the plasters is not known.

Curiously, in 1892, the bronzes were removed from exhibition and almost tossed out during one of the Academy's storage-cleaning efforts. The Academy's Committee on Exhibitions minutes include the following entry for May 6, 1892: "The Chairman stated that the President and he had carefully examined the statuary and the Committee recommended to the Board [that] the following be withdrawn from the Exhibition in the galleries and omitted from the new catalogue . . . B56—Spinning (Bronze Medallion)—Thos. Eakins Knitting do do" (PAFA Archives). The chairman of the committee at that time was Charles Henry Hart, and the president of the Academy was Edward H. Coates, the same man who had bought the panels five years earlier and given them to the Academy.

The Museum's cast of *Spinning* was made in 1930 for Mrs. Eakins by the Roman Bronze Works of Long Island from a plaster in her possession. The casting, in the lost-wax process, was attended to by Riccardo Bertelli (see no. 30). The earlier castings by Bureau Brothers



had been done in the sand-casting technique, a factor that distinguishes their casts from those made later by the Roman Bronze Works. After the bronzes had been given to the Museum by Mrs. Eakins, she wrote to the curator of fine arts Henri Marceau: "Mr. Riccardo Bertelli President of the Roman Bronze Works where this splendid casting was done, will send a man to inscribe all the bronzes which are not signed. I am writing to ask you to have the bronzes convenient for this work. . . . There is no hurry, whatever, but it is important that the bronzes should be inscribed finally" (PMA Archives). This letter dated April 25, 1930, explains the presence of an inscription on the bronze that is not on the plaster, as well as the erroneous date.

48 KNITTING Goodrich 505 1882–83 (cast 1930) Bronze 18³/₈ x 15 x 3" (46.7 x 38 x 7.6 cm) Unsigned Inscribed, bottom center, by Roman Bronze Works: knitting. / thomas eakins. / 1881. Stamped on rim, bottom left: roman bronze works. n.y. Gift of Mrs. Thomas Eakins and Miss Mary Adeline Williams

30-32-22

LIKE ITS COMPANION piece Spinning (see nos. 46 and 47), Knitting is based on an earlier Eakins watercolor, in this case, Seventy Years Ago (Goodrich 114; Princeton University Art Museum), dated 1877. James P. Scott, who commissioned Spinning and Knitting in 1882, may have selected the themes from Eakins's watercolors, much as Thomas B. Clarke may have selected the theme of his commission Professionals at Rehearsal (no. 52) from an earlier watercolor. The title of the watercolor, Seventy Years Ago, clearly refers to the time of William Rush, and the chaperone in William Rush Carving His Allegorical Figure of the Schuylkill River (no. 28) is a very similar old woman sitting in a very similar chair, but in Seventy Years Ago and Knit-

ting she is turned halfway toward the spectator.

According to Goodrich, the model for both the

chaperone and the woman in the watercolor

was Aunt Sallie (Mrs. King), a relative of Eakins's brother-in-law William J. Crowell.

In the relief, Eakins has shifted the tilt-top table into a prominent position at left, where it replaces a spinning wheel in the watercolor. The table, which was owned by Eakins, is much discussed as a problem of perspective in his lectures on the subject (no. 56) and appears in several perspective drawings, one now in the Hirshhorn Museum. In the relief, Eakins also introduced a cat crawling under the chair.

For the history of the original plasters and the early bronze casts of *Knitting* and *Spinning*, as well as the Museum's posthumous bronze cast, *see* number 47.

49 NUDE WOMAN
Goodrich 205
About 1882 (unfinished)
Watercolor on paper
Watermark: none
17^{1/4} x 8^{3/4}" (43.8 x 22.2 cm)
Unsigned
Inscribed, bottom center, by Mrs. Eakins:
Unfinished Water Color / T. Eakins
Gift of Louis E. Stern
50-72-2

HENDRICKS CATALOGUES this watercolor as "Mrs. Thomas Eakins, Nude, from Back, c. 1884?" (Life, p. 344, no. 276). But other than its vague resemblance to a photograph of the artist's wife, there is no evidence to document the identity of the model.

As is the case with other Eakins watercolors, for example, *Retrospection* (no. 38) and *In the Studio* (no. 61), Eakins painted his *Nude Woman*



first in oil (Goodrich 204; repro. Hoopes, p. 50, fig. 8) as a study for the watercolor. The oil study is larger than the watercolor and squared off as a guide for reducing the figure. Neither the oil nor the watercolor is signed or dated.

We do not know why Eakins abandoned this watercolor, leaving the background unfinished, for the figure itself is almost completed. Goodrich speculates that Eakins may have intended to add other figures to the composition, but there is no clue in the oil study to indicate what he may have planned.

The watercolor was purchased by Louis E. Stern from Mrs. Eakins in 1933, three years after she and Miss Williams made their gift of Eakins's works to the Museum (see also nos. 61

and 93).

50 SKETCH FOR "THE WRITING MASTER" Goodrich 189

Goodfici

1882

Oil on wood panel

 $8^{1}/_{4} \times 10^{1}/_{8}''$ (20.9 x 25.7 cm); composition $6^{1}/_{2} \times 8''$

(16.5 x 20.3 cm)

Unsigned

Reverse:

SKETCH OF A MAN AND STUDY OF

DRAPERY

About 1882

Oil on wood panel

 $10^{1}/_{8} \times 8^{1}/_{4}^{"}$ (25.7 x 20.9 cm)

Unsigned

Gift of Mrs. Thomas Eakins and

Miss Mary Adeline Williams

30-32-4

IN 1882, Eakins prepared to paint a portrait of his father Benjamin (1818–1899), then in his sixty-fourth year. Benjamin Eakins had been raised on a farm near Valley Forge, Pennsylvania, but as a young man had settled in Philadelphia, where he taught artistic handwriting in several schools and was also frequently called upon to letter documents, such as diplomas or deeds, in his beautiful, old-fashioned "copperplate" hand.

As many letters quoted in Goodrich confirm, Eakins was very close to his father, who had strongly supported his wish to become an artist. Eakins had painted Benjamin earlier, notably in *The Artist and His Father Hunting Reed-Birds*, about 1874 (Goodrich 68; collection of Mr. and Mrs. Paul Mellon), and *The Chess Players* (fig. 2; Goodrich 96), and Benjamin had also posed for the figure of William Rush in at least one of the early studies for the 1876–77 painting (Goodrich III; repro. Hendricks, *Life*,



fig. 94). This new portrait, however, was to represent Benjamin as a professional man at work, much as Dr. Gross was shown in *The Gross Clinic* or like any number of the professional portraits Eakins painted during his long career.

The portrait shows Benjamin Eakins as a writing master bent over a table engrossing a document. As was Eakins's habit in beginning his portraits, he first made an oil sketch of the composition, in this case on a small wood



50 Reverse

panel. The board had been cut down from a larger one that had been used for other studies, remnants of which are still visible near the bottom edge. Eakins painted rapidly with narrow bristle brushes to capture the characteristic movement of his father's form as he concentrated upon his writing task. He then indicated with a few brushstrokes the borders of the composition. In the final painting (Goodrich 188), which measures 30 by 34¹/₄ inches, the local detail is developed—Benjamin, who wears spectacles, is bent over a document, which can be partially deciphered—but the composition and the shape of the canvas conform very closely to this first rapid sketch.

The Writing Master was first exhibited at the annual exhibition of the Society of American Aritsts in New York in the spring of 1883 and again in the fall of that year at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts. The sketch, however, was never exhibited during Eakins's lifetime. But in 1917, when Eakins's friend Gilbert Sunderland Parker assembled a memorial exhibition at the Academy, he included the Sketch for "The Writing Master" as well as other Eakins oil sketches. It was only then that the summary brilliance of these rapid sketches became known and appreciated.

The reverse of the panel bears two unrelated studies. One is a very loose sketch of a figure wearing a hat, reminiscent of the man seated on the winch in *Mending the Net* (no. 40). On the left edge are fragments of a more detailed study, which suggest yellow drapery, but this was cut in half when the panel was cropped.



51 WILLIAM SARTAIN

About 1883 Photograph (albumen print) 4¹/₈ x 3⁵/₈" (10.5 x 9.2 cm) Unsigned Anonymous gift 71-81-1

WILLIAM SARTAIN (1843–1924) was probably one of the few lifelong friends of Thomas Eakins. Their fathers, John Sartain and Benjamin Eakins, had been friends, and it was the elder Sartain who had provided the introduction that helped Eakins enter the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris. Later, John Sartain consulted Eakins when the new building of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts was being planned. But John Sartain was also chairman of the Committee of Selections for the Centennial art exhibition, which rejected Eakins's *Gross Clinic*.

Eakins's acquaintance with William Sartain began much earlier. They had been close friends at grammar school and were in the same class at Central High School, graduating together in 1861. Later they studied together at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts and both attended anatomy lectures at Jefferson Medical College. In September 1866, when Eakins left for Europe, Sartain and his sister Emily saw him off in New York; in 1867, Sartain, William Crowell, and Eakins toured in Europe together; and in 1869, after Eakins

came home for a short visit, Sartain returned with him to Paris, where he enrolled as a student in the studio of Léon Bonnat. Soon Eakins also began to study with Bonnat (see no. 5) but after a few months went off to Spain, with Sartain soon following him.

Sartain did not return from France until 1876. That same year he posed with their high school friend Max Schmitt for Eakins's watercolor *The Zither Player* (see no. 52). By 1883, the date here suggested for this photograph, Sartain was teaching painting at the Art Students' League of New York, but he frequently visited Philadelphia, and often went sailing

with Eakins on Sundays.

No Eakins portrait of Sartain is now known. However, Adam Emory Albright recalled that one had been painted: "Eakins once exchanged portraits with Sartain, and when his fellow artist came for a sitting, already had on his canvas a diagram of the floor with a perspective drawing of the chair. The location of each leg of the chair was also marked on the floor with a circle of paint, and Eakins' own position, as he would stand painting the sitter" ("Memories of Thomas Eakins," *Harper's Bazaar*, vol. 81, no. 7, August 1947, p. 184).

Perhaps this photograph is actually a study for an Eakins portrait of Sartain, for it does not look like one of Eakins's "art" photographs. Eakins took a second photograph of Sartain (Hendricks, *Life*, fig. 21), somewhat different from this one, showing the figure slightly more head on. The existence of two such similar photographs would support the premise that these were preliminary studies for a painted portrait.

After Eakins's dismissal from the Academy in 1886, the friendship between Sartain and Eakins may have cooled, but the two nevertheless remained in touch. After 1886, Sartain commuted from New York intermittently until 1904 to teach at the Philadelphia School of Design for Women (now Moore College of Art). When Eakins died, Sartain wrote a biographical sketch of his friend, which was published in *The Art World* in January 1918 (vol. 3, no. 4, pp. 291–93). He praised Eakins as "a sincere, unaffected man and a thinker. No one could doubt his being a man of originality and convictions, distinctly apart from the mass of his contemporaries."



52 PROFESSIONALS AT REHEARSAL Goodrich 207 1883 Oil on canvas (rebacked) 16 x 12" (40.6 x 30.5 cm) Signed, upper left: EAKINS The John D. McIlhenny Collection 43-40-39

In 1883 the noted New York collector and promoter of American art Thomas Benedict Clarke commissioned Eakins to paint this small picture for his collection. What persuaded Clarke to commission Eakins is not known, but William Sartain (see no. 51) may have been the connection. One year earlier, Clarke had purchased a landscape from Sartain, for which he paid \$300. Then, in 1883, he bought the nowfamous Ironworkers: Noontime from Eakins's former student Thomas Anshutz, and he commissioned Eakins to paint Professionals at Rebearsal, also for \$300. Clarke's taste had developed gradually from an early interest in minutely finished trompe l'oeil still lifes (he was a champion of the Philadelphian William Harnett) to anecdotal genre scenes of subjects that were notably American, such as Anshutz and Eakins were then painting. To be represented in Clarke's collection was, at the time, an achievement of considerable importance, and Eakins would certainly have been eager to please such a notable collector as Clarke.

Clarke himself may have selected the theme of the painting from an earlier watercolor The Zither Player (Goodrich 94; Art Institute of Chicago), in which Eakins showed two of his friends, Max Schmitt, playing the zither, and William Sartain, listening. In Professionals at Rebearsal. Eakins repeated the composition of his earlier watercolor, but the listener is replaced by a guitar player and the models have changed. J. Laurie Wallace, who had posed for The Crucifixion (no. 37) in 1880, now posed for the zither player. Replacing Sartain as the model for the second figure, the guitar player, was George Agnew Reid (1860-1947). (The guitarist has previously been identified as William L. MacLean, but an undated letter from Anshutz to Wallace clearly establishes Reid, a Canadian student at the Academy, as the model; transcript of letter, PMA Archives).

The most significant difference between the earlier watercolor, The Zither Player, and Professionals at Rehearsal, however, is Eakins's approach to focus. The whole front plane of the watercolor, including the table legs, the glasses and bottle, and the instrument, is crisply painted while the next plane, which includes the player and the listener, is notably less precise. This was Eakins's earlier approach to aerial perspective, as can be seen, for instance, in Ships and Sailboats on the Delaware (no. 13). In Professionals at Rehearsal, he changed the area of focus. He selected as the focal point a triangular section in the center, consisting of Wallace's head, his hands, and the zither. The top of this pyramid is marked by Wallace's prominent red ear. His face and hands are painted in trompe l'oeil detail while the tactile white shirt and the objects on the table are just slightly less precise. The player's chair and the table legs, being unimportant to the theme, are blurred and out of focus, much more so than in the watercolor.

Clarke had possession of Professionals at Rehearsal by December 1883, when it was included in an exhibition of his collection in New York. The artist's fee for the painting turned out to be only \$270, according to entries in Eakins's account book (collection of Mr. and Mrs. Daniel W. Dietrich II) for December 19, 1883: "Checque from Thomas B. Clarke of New York in part payment for picture of Zither & Guitar players painted to his order. He owes me still 125. (300-25 for frame being full price.)" and for April 5, 1884: "Clark [sic] owed me originally \$300 less the frame which was to cost \$25. but he got a frame costing \$30 and sends me \$120 for final payment so I must put the \$5 to Business Exp.'



53 J. LAURIE WALLACE (STUDY FOR "ARCADIA")
Hendricks 47
1883
Photograph (platinum print)
3¹/₄ x 4⁷/₈" (8.3 x 12.4 cm); image 3¹/₄ x 4¹/₂" (8.3 x 11.4 cm)
Unsigned

Bequest of Mark Lutz

69-194-25

relief (no. 54).

student at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts from 1878 to 1882, and had posed for a number of Eakins's paintings, among them *The Crucifixion* (no. 37) and *Professionals at Rehearsal* (no. 52). By 1882 he had become one of Eakins's assistants at the Academy, holding the position of chief demonstrator of anatomy. That summer, Eakins took a number of photographs of Wallace out-of-doors, including this

JOHN LAURIE WALLACE had been enrolled as a

position of chief demonstrator of anatomy. That summer, Eakins took a number of photographs of Wallace out-of-doors, including this one, as studies for a series of paintings and a relief having the theme of Arcadia. In the photograph, Wallace is playing the pipes, seated nude on what appears to be an uprooted tree trunk. Eakins made no attempt here to create a photograph as a finished work in its own right. Had this been his intent, he would certainly have removed Wallace's clothing, which can be seen behind him, and particularly, the straw hat lying in the sand to the right of the tree trunk. Eakins was obviously interested only in capturing the figure of Wallace, which became

Wallace continued to pose for Eakins in his studio. In December 1883, however, he resigned his position at the Academy and moved to Chicago, where on Eakins's recommendation he had been offered a teaching post at the Art Institute. Thus, at the end of the year, Eakins made the following notation in his account

the basis for the figure at the right in his Arcadia

book (collection of Mr. and Mrs. Daniel W. Dietrich II): "Wallace accepting situation & leaving me with unfinished work from him refused balance I owed him." He returned for visits occasionally, and Eakins painted his portrait (Goodrich 206; Joslyn Art Museum, Omaha), but after this Wallace never again posed for Eakins.

54 ARCADIA Goodrich 506 1883–84 Plaster with transparent brown patina 11³/₄ x 24 x 2³/₁₆" (29.8 x 61 x 5.6 cm) Signed, upper left: FAKINS Dated, top center: 1883 Purchased: J. Stogdell Stokes Fund 75-84-1

In 1883, the summer before he was to be married, Eakins took up the theme of Arcadia in a series of paintings and sculptural reliefs. At this time he was in full control of the schools of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts and was enjoying a close relationship with his students, frequently going on jaunts with them for photography and painting. A keynote of these trips was his interest in the students' observation of the nude figure in motion in natural surroundings. Such interest led easily to the exploration of a traditional classical subject, Arcadia, and it is this relief that remains as his most successful realization of the Arcadian theme.

This theme has had a long tradition in Western art and literature, having originated in the third century B.C. with the bucolic writings of the Greek poet Theocritus. Through the many interpretations of this theme, Arcadia has come to be known generally as a paradise populated by contented rustics who worship Pan and dwell blissfully amid the delights of nature.

Eakins based Arcadia upon various photographs and studio poses, which aided him as he worked. The piper, at right, was modeled after photographs of his friend J. Laurie Wallace (see no. 53). Directly to the left of the piper sits a dog, surely a specific one, but not Eakins's red setter Harry (no. 104), who, however, does appear in a number of Eakins's paintings. Next, to the left, is the figure of a draped young lady. Her pose recalls several Eakins photographs of women students in classical garments that were taken about 1883 and 1884, but it does not match any known example. Eakins repeated this figure in a separate relief (Goodrich 507; collection of Mr. and Mrs. John D. Rockefeller



3rd). In the center of Arcadia is a couple, followed by an old man, resting on a cane, with his right hand raised to his ear. The model for this figure may have been the painter and friend of Benjamin Eakins, George W. Holmes (c. 1812–1895), who earlier had posed for Eakins in The Chess Players (fig. 2; Goodrich 96). About this time, Holmes modeled in the nude for part of a series of photographs that Eakins took showing young, middle-aged, and old men (Hendricks 256). Last in the procession is a nude youth, perhaps again J. Laurie Wallace, who is pictured in a similar pose in a number of photographs.

Eakins himself must have liked his Arcadia relief because it appears as the focal point of a remarkably beautiful photograph of two of his women students posing in Greek costumes (Hendricks 63); he also included it in the background of A Lady with a Setter Dog (Goodrich 213), the first portrait he painted of his wife Susan. And yet, strangely enough, he never seems to have exhibited it during his lifetime. However, he and his students apparently did make a number of plaster replicas of it, which he gave away freely to friends. How many casts were made is not known. In 1930, when Lloyd Goodrich assembled material for his book on Eakins, he noted the existence of two plaster casts and one bronze cast. One plaster and one bronze were listed as in Mrs. Eakins's possession. However, his notation that she donated one plaster Arcadia relief to this Museum is in error. One of the plasters is now unlocated, and the other, which has a greenbronze imitation patina much like that on Clinker (no. 84), is now in the Hirshhorn Museum. Two other plaster casts have since come to light. One, which is now in the Yale University Art Gallery, is white and can be traced to Eakins's student Frank B. A. Linton. The Museum's cast, which may well be the only surviving cast of Arcadia bearing its original Eakins patina, is the second. Nothing is known of its provenance except that it was found in the house of Charles Howard Hagert after his death in 1935. Hagert, a contemporary of Eakins, had in later life studied at the Spring Garden Institute and also at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts. All the known bronze casts of Arcadia were made after the artist's death.

Eakins may have undertaken Arcadia to continue his investigation of the possibilities of relief sculpture following his work on Spinning and Knitting (see nos. 46 to 48). Relief sculpture became the subject of a lecture he prepared, which was then added to his annual lectures on perspective and composition at the Academy. In his lecture manuscript (no. 56), he discusses relief: "The best examples of relief sculpture are the ancient Greek. . . . The simple processions of the Greeks viewed in profile or nearly so are exactly suited to reproduction in relief sculpture. . . . Nine tenths of the people who have seen casts of the frieze of the Parthenon would say the figures are backed by a planc surface so gentle are its numerous curves which are instantly seen on looking endways or putting [it] in a skimming light.

55 A YOUTH PLAYING THE PIPES Goodrich 508 1884 Plaster with tan varnish patina 19¹/₄ x 7¹/₂ x 1¹/₄" (48.9 x 19.1 x 3.2 cm)

Unsigned Gift of Alton O'Steen 75-88-1

ALTHOUGH GOODRICH REPORTS that a plaster of A Youth Playing the Pipes in Mrs. Eakins's possession was dated 1883, we know from Eakins's own account book (collection of Mr. and Mrs. Daniel W. Dietrich II) that this work occupied him through most of 1884. Notations apparently accounting for fees paid to a model are recorded in the book for June 30, 1884, "Panel Piper" \$20.27; for July 31, 1884, "Panel Piper" \$21.00; for August 31, 1884, "Panel of Piper" \$10.00; for December 31, 1884, "Panel of Piper from Sept. 8." \$11.00.

We do not know who posed for A Youth Playing the Pipes. Hendricks says that the relief was copied directly from a photograph of J. Laurie Wallace (see no. 53) or from an oil sketch copied from the same photograph (*Life*, p. 321), which seems unlikely since the young boy does not resemble him. Wallace left Philadelphia in December 1883 and no expenditures connected with this work are recorded in Eakins's account book until 1884. What probably happened was that Eakins planned this work as an elaboration of the figure at left in Arcadia (no. 54), much as he had made a separate relief of the figure of the young woman between the dog and the couple. Photographs and oil studies of Wallace in a similar pose are known and Eakins had probably used them for this last figure in Arcadia. Eakins hired another model for the relief, which was probably completed by December 1884. Again, as with Arcadia, there was no public exhibition of A Youth Playing the Pipes during Eakins's lifetime.

In 1936, after visiting the Eakins collection in the Philadelphia Museum of Art, Alton O'Steen, a distinguished New York music teacher, visited Mrs. Eakins at the Mount Vernon Street house, where he saw a number of Eakins's works, among them a bronze cast of A Youth Playing the Pipes and one or two plaster casts of the same relief. That evening Mrs. Eakins called to say that she wished to give him a plaster of the piper, which he had admired so much. In 1975, he presented this relief to the Philadelphia Museum of Art.

This cast is not signed, and it is smaller than a bronze cast of the same subject that is now in the Hirshhorn Museum. One can assume that,



as with Arcadia, there were a number of plaster casts of the same relief. In this case, the border, which in the Hirshhorn Museum cast carries the signature and date, had been cropped off. The Hirshhorn's bronze cast dates from 1930, when Mrs. Eakins commissioned the Roman Bronze Works to make bronze casts of most of her husband's sculpture (see no. 30).

56 LECTURE MANUSCRIPT AND NOTES

About 1884

Pencil and ink on paper

108 sheets, various sizes from 8 x 10" (20.3 x 25.4 cm) to $8^{7}/_{8}$ x 14" (22.5 x 35.6 cm)

A "Linear Perspective"

50 sheets

B "Mechanical Drawing"

11 sheets

C "Isometric Drawing"

4 sheets

D "Refraction"

o sheets (folded)

E "Reflections in Water"

13 sheets

F "Shadows"

2 sheets

G "Laws of Sculptured Relief"

12 sheets

H "Notes on Construction of Camera"

4 sheets

1 "Miscellaneous Notes"

3 sheets

Gift of Mrs. Ruth Strouse in memory of Joseph

Katz, father of the donor

63-198-1-106

In 1877, when Eakins was conducting the evening life class at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, he volunteered to teach a course in perspective also. This offer was not accepted, and it was not until three years later that Eakins delivered his first formal lecture in perspective to the students at the Academy, on Saturday, March 13, 1880, at 8:00 P.M. Each year thereafter while he was at the Academy, Eakins lectured on the subject of perspective and composition. He also lectured on composition, perspective, and artistic anatomy at the Brooklyn Art Guild, the National Academy of Design, the Art Students' League, and Cooper Union, in New York; at Drexel Institute in Philadelphia; and at the Art Students' League in Washington, D.C.

This manuscript seems to include Eakins's notes for his formal lectures, probably written during the period he was director of the schools of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts. The text is not continuous, and some parts are repeated, some are missing. Several sections were obviously prepared for publication, and this is substantiated by the fact that these texts call for specific illustrations (although none re-

main with the manuscript).

The largest part of the manuscript deals with linear perspective. McHenry claims that Eakins contributed significantly to the principles of one-point perspective, but the text does not bear this out. The perspective lecture follows a traditional approach, but Eakins pushed the logic somewhat further than most art schools care to carry it. According to Adam Emory Albright, who was an Academy student from 1883 on, Eakins demonstrated his lectures with an elaborate mechanical construction that involved a wire screen, thread, and squares drawn on the floor. Albright recalled: "I can still hear him say, 'Don't forget the horizon follows your eyes up or down, and all lines above go down and all lines below go up. Twice as far off, half as big'" ("Memories of Thomas Eakins," Harper's Bazaar, vol. 81, no. 7, August 1947, p. 184).

57 EGG

About 1884

Painted wood

Height $2^{1}/8''$ (5.4 cm); diameter $1^{11}/16''$ (4.3 cm)

Unsigned

Gift of George Barker

61-230-1

On February 27, 1884, Eakins wrote to his friend J. Laurie Wallace about his classes at the Academy: "We have at least our still life class going in the little room. There is solid work going on there all day. I am glad to say the oldest and best pupils patronize it largely and they are painting from eggs to learn nicety of drawing and from pure colored ribbons and muslins the range of their colors" (quoted in McHenry, p. 53). In January 1884, Eakins's account book (collection of Mr. and Mrs. Daniel W. Dietrich II) lists the purchase of \$66.84 worth of tools and hardware, including a lathe and turning tools, presumably the equipment with which Eakins turned this egg.

The egg, actually a rounded peg, was one of a set of three; one peg was white, one black, and this one bright red, although it is now rather dark. Charles Bregler, who became a student at the Academy in 1883, quoted Eakins as saying "Paint three eggs—one red, one black, one white. Paint the white and black ones first, then paint all three together. I turned myself some wooden ones, this shape and I painted these in sunlight, in twilight, indoors,—working with the light, and the light just skimming across them. These simple studies make strong painters" ("Thomas Eakins as a Teacher," The Arts, vol. 17, no. 6, March 1931, p. 384). One of Eakins's own studies of colored eggs and balls is in the Joslyn Art

Museum in Omaha (Appendix в, fig. 7).



The wooden peg, which bears a label by Bregler stating that it was made by Eakins, was given to the Museum by George Barker, a student of J. Laurie Wallace. Barker also presented two other eggs that he made himself "to complete the 3 used by Eakins, and students—for practice study." Although hardly a work of art, it is, like the lecture manuscript (no. 56), a document that reveals Eakins's approach to what he called "picture-making."

58 BOY JUMPING HORIZONTALLY Hendricks 113 1884 Marey wheel photograph (silver print) 3¹³/₁₆ x 4⁷/₈" (9.7 x 12.4 cm) Unsigned Gift of Charles Bregler 1977-171-5

In June 1884, Eadweard Muybridge, whose 1878 action photographs of horses in motion inspired Eakins and Fairman Rogers to undertake *The Fairman Rogers Four-in-Hand* (see no. 31), began to conduct an extensive study of animal and human locomotion under the auspices of the University of Pennsylvania. An advisory commission had been appointed to supervise Muybridge's work, and Eakins was named a

member of this group.

Muybridge's system of action photography used a series of cameras that were triggered in sequence, producing a group of individual photographs recording the complete cycle of the action that had taken place. Eakins himself had been taking instantaneous photographs. He preferred another system, one that had been invented by Dr. Etienne-Jules Marey, a French scientist and founder of the Institut Marev in Paris. Marev's system used a single camera to produce a series of exposures on the same negative by means of a perforated disk rotated in front of the lens, thus opening and closing the shutter at regular intervals. This disk became known as a Marey wheel, hence Eakins's frequent references to Marey wheel photographs.



58



5.0

Eakins improved Marey's system by using two small disks rotating at different rates of speed rather than Marey's single disk, and he also employed an electric shutter. Among Eakins's lecture notes and manuscripts (no. 56) are seven pages of notes dealing with the construction of such a camera. Eakins's method is fully described in a chapter on "The Mechanism of Instantaneous Photography" written by fellow commission member William Dennis Marks and published in the description of the project, Animal Locomotion: The Muybridge Work at The University of Pennsylvania—The Method and The Result (Philadelphia, 1888, pp. 10–15).

With the improved camera, Eakins took many photographs of his Academy students walking, running, jumping, or pole-vaulting, the best known of which is the Boy Jumping Horizontally, possibly the photograph exhibited by Eakins as the History of a Jump in 1886 (see PAFA, Thomas Eakins: His Photographic Works, 1969, p. 52). This photograph was subsequently engraved in wood and published in Animal Locomotion (p. 14). In his text, Marks discusses the photograph: "The reproduction of a boy jumping horizontally... which Professor Eakins has photographed on a single plate by means of his adaptation of the Marey wheel, is of exceedingly great interest, because, in this picture, each impression occurred at exact intervals. The velocity of motion can be determined, by measurement of the spaces separating the successive figures, with very great precision, as also the relative motions of the various members of the body" (pp. 14–15). A print

of this photograph, which bears Eakins's notations of exposure timing and which he signed with a large E, is reproduced by Hendricks (fig. 114).

59 CATS
Hendricks 213
1880–90
Photograph (gelatin silver chloride print)
3¹¹/₁₆ x 5¹/₈" (9.4 x 13 cm)
Unsigned
Gift of Seymour Adelman
68-203-5

EAKINS'S LOVE of animals is well documented, and cats, his dogs, and even, in later years, a monkey, appear in a number of photographs attributed to him. This photograph, which Hendricks says was taken in Eakins's house at 1729 Mount Vernon Street, shows a carefully calculated composition in which two cats, separated by a rectangular patch of sunlight, are silhouetted against pure black. The background may have been darkened during the printing process to eliminate any elements that might have registered on the negative and interfered with the haunting composition.



60 EVA LAWRENCE WATSON (EVA WATSON-SCHÜTZE)

About 1884
Photograph (platinum print)
5⁹/₁₆ x 4¹/₂" (14.1 x 11.4 cm); image 5⁷/₁₆ x 4⁵/₁₆"
(13.8 x 11 cm)
Unsigned
Gift of Seymour Adelman
68-203-1

Around 1884, when Eakins took her photograph, Eva Lawrence Watson (1867–1935) was a student of painting at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts. School records list her from November 1882 to June 1884 and again in 1887 and 1888. It is believed that she took up photography around 1890, producing mainly figure studies and portraits, but she also continued to paint, claiming that practice in one medium was beneficial to the other. At the turn of the century she became one of the pioneer art photographers championing the cause of photography as a fine art. She was a close friend of Alfred Stieglitz, who reproduced her photographs in his journal of photography Camera Work. From 1898 to 1900 she exhibited in the international Philadelphia Photographic Salons and in 1900 served on the jury of selection along with Alfred Stieglitz, Gertrude Käsebier, Clarence H. White, and Frank Eugene. In 1901, Eva Watson married Dr. Martin Schütze and moved to Chicago,

where she set up a studio for portrait photography.

How much influence Eakins had on Watson's career as a photographer is not known. In his photograph of her, probably taken when she was in her late teens, Eakins produced one of his own carefully composed art photographs. The sunlight, striking from above, emphasizes her bonnet but rakes very lightly over her delicate profile catching again a highlight on the ribbon tied below her chin. The focus of the camera is on her nose and ear and on the ribbon, while the background is intentionally blurred so as not to distract from the portrait.

61 IN THE STUDIO

Goodrich 209 About 1884 (unfinished) Watercolor on paper Watermark: none 21³/₄ x 17¹/₈" (55.2 x 43.5 cm) Unsigned Inscribed, lower right, by Mrs. Eakins: Unfinished water color /T. Eakins Gift of Louis E. Stern

Eakins's watercolors were frequently preceded by studies in oil, a medium which could be more readily changed during the develop-



ment of a composition. Eakins taught his students to catch the characteristic movement of a figure by drawing with oils and the brush, and he himself usually made rapid oil sketches before he began a painting, even if the painting was to be a watercolor (see nos. 38 and 49).

Such is the case with In the Studio. A study in oil for this watercolor, dated 1884 (Goodrich 208; The Hyde Collection, Glens Falls, New York), shows what Eakins intended to paint in the section that remains unfinished. In the study the same young woman—according to Goodrich she was one of Eakins's pupils—is seated in the center with the artist's red setter Harry lying on the floor at the lower left. The arrangement recalls Eakins's very beautiful painting A Lady with a Setter Dog of 1885 (Goodrich 213). The theme of an interior portrait with a dog is found earlier in the Eakins circle, when in 1878, Susan Eakins, then not yet married, painted the portrait of her father, William H. Macdowell, with a dog at his feet. This painting, entitled Portrait of Gentleman and Dog, was reproduced in Scribner's Monthly to illustrate William C. Brownell's article "The Art Schools of Philadelphia" (vol. 18, no. 5, September

1879, p. 745).

The brushwork of *In the Studio* is more direct, more skilled, and more spontaneous than that of Eakins's earlier watercolors. Here he seems to have understood more fully the qualities peculiar to the medium; he avoided lines and modeled more lightly. He painted the background with broad, painterly brushstrokes, even adding some dry pigment to his sepia washes to obtain texture in the vertical strokes above the head. The tip of the model's shoe in the lower-right corner is finished, thereby defining the composition, but there is no connection between it and the completed upper part of the figure. We do not know why Eakins left this watercolor unfinished, but its incomplete state makes it no less interesting as an abstract composition and as an indication of Eakins's method. Indeed, Charles Bregler quoted Eakins as telling his students: "When finishing paint a small piece, then don't go and finish another beside it. If you do you lose your drawing. But finish a piece some distance from it and then keep working the two points" ("Thomas Eakins as a Teacher," The Arts, vol. 17, no. 6, March 1931, p. 384).



62

62 PORTRAIT OF ARTHUR BURDETT FROST Goodrich 210 About 1886 Oil on canvas (rebacked) $27^{1}/_{16} \times 21^{15}/_{16}'' (68.7 \times 55.7 \text{ cm})$ Unsigned Gift of Mrs. Thomas Eakins and Miss Mary Adeline Williams 29-184-1

EAKINS MAY HAVE KNOWN Arthur B. Frost (1851–1928) as early as his high school days, for Frost's father was a professor of literature at Central High School; or they may have met around 1872, during the period Eakins was painting his rowing pictures (see nos. 8 and 11), when Frost, a member of Undine Barge Club, rowed bow in a four-oared gig race. Certainly, by the time he became a member of the Philadelphia Sketch Club, where Eakins conducted an evening life class from 1874 to 1876, he and Eakins knew each other. Later, Frost was enrolled as a student at the Academy from September 1878 through 1881, when Eakins was teaching there.

At the time Frost entered the Academy he was already well on the way to achieving fame as an illustrator. An illustration of his was first published in 1874, and he had spent the year 1877–78 in London studying and working on illustrations for such books as Charles Dickens's American Notes and Pictures from Italy, and Lewis Carroll's Rhyme? and Reason?. While in London, Frost, according to his biographer Henry M.

Reed, had before him the example of the brilliant school of British illustrators, which deeply influenced the development of his style but also convinced him that he needed further study and instruction. He therefore returned home and enrolled at the Academy, where he studied under Eakins. According to Reed: "It was under Eakins that Frost perfected his great draftsmanship in the articulation of the body movements" (*The A.B. Frost Book*, Rutland, Vt., 1967, p. 29). Frost went on to illustrate more than ninety books, among them the *Uncle Remus* stories, and he also became well known for his hunting pictures.

When Frost was at the Academy, he rented a studio at 1330 Chestnut Street. He kept it until 1883, when he moved to Long Island. Afterward, Eakins took over Frost's studio and used it until the turn of the century. He painted many of his portraits there, and Samuel Murray (see no. 75) also created many of his

sculptures in the same studio.

Eakins's portrait of Frost is difficult to date. A label written by Mrs. Eakins and attached to the reverse of the painting says that it was painted about 1884. But in Eakins's account book (collection of Mr. and Mrs. Daniel W. Dietrich II) the following notation appears for July 19, 1887: "to Frost's portrait 150—Emily Frosts check for portrait of husband painted in 1886." This notation refers to another portrait of Frost, which is now in the Detroit Institute of Arts, but the Frost portraits are similar enough to indicate that both were painted in the same year. A second portrait of Frost in Detroit is a copy after the Eakins portrait there.

63 PORTRAIT OF BLANCHE HURLBUT
Goodrich 269
1885 or 1886 (unfinished)
Oil on canvas (rebacked)
24 x 20" (61 x 50.8 cm)
Unsigned
Inscribed, lower right, by Mrs. Eakins: Thomas
Eakins
Gift of Mrs. Thomas Eakins and
Miss Mary Adeline Williams
29-184-5

LITTLE 18 KNOWN about Blanche Hurlbut, a student of Eakins at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, whose portrait he began to paint around 1885 or 1886 but never completed. The Academy's records list her school enrollment from December 1880 through the spring of 1883, and Hendricks has identified her as one of the students in a photograph of the Ladies' Modeling Class at the Academy, which



6

was taken between 1881 and 1883 (Hendricks, fig. 40). The photograph shows her in the foreground, sitting on the floor, working on a small clay model of a cow.

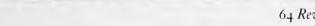
The next known reference to Blanche Hurlbut is in a letter Eakins wrote to J. Laurie Wallace on January 12, 1887: "Miss Hurlbut's trunk is staying at our house. She came to our house Christmas & staid three days and then went to New York taking a hand satchel only with her expecting to return in a couple of days. She is not back yet though we hear from her either directly or through the Macdowells" (Joslyn Art Museum, Omaha, Archives). Later that year, on June 23, Eakins again mentioned her in a letter to Wallace: "Miss Hurlbut's address is still Hollidaysburg [Pennsylvania]. She thought last spring when she was here of giving up art and studying medicine, and I have only heard of her occasionally since then although we are always looking for a visit from her" (Joslyn Art Museum Archives).*

In this unfinished portrait, Blanche Hurlbut's appearance is not unlike that of the stout young woman shown in the photograph. According to a label on the stretcher written by Mrs. Eakins, the portrait was painted between 1885 and 1890. We have favored an earlier date because her appearance seems to resemble closely that of the photograph. Goodrich, how-

ever, dated this painting about 1892.

*These letters were kindly brought to my attention by Prof. William I. Homer.





The canvas that Eakins used for this painting is different from his usual type. It is more smoothly finished and, according to a label on the stretcher, was obtained from the Artist's Emporium and Fancy Store, at 146 South 8th Street, Philadelphia. Since the name of this firm was changed in 1869, the canvas must have been quite old when Eakins painted on it.

64

64 SKETCH FOR "PORTRAIT OF PROFESSOR GEORGE F. BARKER" Goodrich 215 1886 Oil on cardboard $12^{3}/_{8} \times 10^{1}/_{8} (31.4 \times 25.7 \text{ cm}); \text{ composition } 12^{1}/_{4} \times 7''$ (31.1 x 17.8 cm) Unsigned Reverse: SEATED FIGURES About 1886 Oil on cardboard $12^{3}/_{8} \times 10^{1}/_{8}'' (31.4 \times 25.7 \text{ cm})$ Unsigned Gift of Mrs. Thomas Eakins and Miss Mary Adeline Williams 30-32-7

Eakins's friend George Frederick Barker (1835-1910) was a prominent chemist and physicist and, according to the Dictionary of American Biography, an acknowledged expert in electricity and toxology. From 1873, when he came to Philadelphia from Yale, until 1900 he



64 Reverse

was Professor of Physics at the University of Pennsylvania. Together with Eakins and a number of other prominent Philadelphians he served on the advisory commission that supervised Muybridge's photographic work at the university in 1884 (see no. 58). That same year he was actively involved in creating the International Electrical Exhibition in Philadelphia, the first to be held in the United States.

Goodrich reports that Eakins and Barker were good friends. In 1886, Eakins painted his portrait, not on commission, but out of his great admiration for the man. Although it has been cut down from its original size, the Portrait of Professor George F. Barker (Goodrich 214; private collection) must have been a very strong picture. As can be seen from the photograph of the original portrait (Schendler, fig. 48), Barker's gaze confronted the viewer directly, his thoughtful eyes, seen through pince-nez glasses, the focal point of the picture. There was little else in the painting: the dark suit of the scientist blended into a dark golden brown background, devoid of any definition. Only Barker's right hand, hanging at his side, was again picked out by light, thus balancing the face and creating a very subtle tension within the composition. The portrait was awarded a gold medal at the Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo in 1901. McHenry reports (p. 70) that it was among the works that Eakins himself like best.

Long after Eakins's death, some time between 1930 and 1944, this portrait was cut down from a three-quarter length figure (60 by 40 inches) to bust size (24 by 20 inches). The photograph taken before the canvas was cut down shows wide-open drying cracks in the lower half, which were probably caused by bitumen in Eakins's paint. These eracks were undoubtedly the reason for eropping the painting, but by doing this, Eakins's haunting composition was unfortunately destroyed.

Today, only Eakins's sketch for the portrait survives to reeall the spirit of this great composition. A rapidly painted study, it has, however, all the essential elements of the painting, namely, the scientist's shapeless dark suit melting into the dark background, his face and shirt pieked out by light, and his right hand, painted with just a single brushstroke. After the sketch was completed, Eakins squared it off to help him in enlarging the composition onto his full-size canvas.

A different sketch on the reverse of the eardboard panel shows a young woman in profile seated on a chair, reading a book. To the right are a few brushstrokes that suggest a second figure with hands elasped, somewhat reminiseent of Eakins's portrait of Mrs. Gillespie (no. 91). No known Eakins painting can be connected with this sketch.

65 LANDSCAPE (SKETCH FOR "COWBOYS IN THE BAD LANDS")

Goodrich 228 1887 Oil on canvas (mounted on Masonite) $10^{1/4}$ x $14^{1/2}$ " (26 x 36.8 cm) Unsigned Gift of Seymour Adelman 47-96-2B

In July 1887, Eakins traveled alone by train to the Bad Lands of the Little Missouri in the northwestern part of North Dakota. This area was then eowboy eountry where men lived isolated lives, under primitive conditions, tending vast herds of cattle. Eakins went there to overeome a depression, which probably had been precipitated by the previous year's experience of being forced to resign as director of the schools of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts. This had been a great blow to the artist and to his professional standing.

Eakins's friend Dr. Horatio Wood, professor of nervous diseases at the University of Pennsylvania, probably suggested the trip, and Eakins stayed at the B-T Raneh, which was partly owned by Wood. The raneh was located in the

foothills, about forty-five miles north of the railroad town Dickinson, and only about twenty or thirty miles from Teddy Roosevelt's Elk Horn Ranch. Goodrich reports that the primitive outdoor life, spent largely in the saddle in the vast expanse of open country, was exactly to Eakins's taste. He stayed in the Bad Lands through September and returned to Philadelphia, by way of Chicago, in much improved spirits.

While Eakins was in the Bad Lands he made a number of small oil sketches on very thin, single-weave cotton eanvas that had been glued on both sides of a series of cardboard panels. These sketches, four of which are owned by the Museum (nos. 65 to 68), all measure about $10^{1}/_{2}$ by 14¹/₂ inches, suggesting that the cardboard panels had been prepared in advance to fit into the lid of Eakins's paint box, much like the wood panels he had used earlier (see no. 29). During eonservation, the eanvases of numbers 65 and 66, originally mounted on the front and back of the same eardboard, were removed—a relatively easy operation—and subsequently mounted on Masonite. Number 66 had at one time been eut through the center and folded back, creating a small folder. Perhaps Eakins had done this himself, for he seems to have attached little importance to his notations once they had served their purpose of reminding him of an interesting seene, reealling color relationships, or providing information on a particular detail for working out a painting in his studio.

This sketch of a landseape is a very loose study, not much more than color notations of the rocky landscape, which Eakins planned to paint later in his studio in Philadelphia. His studio painting *Cowboys in the Bad Lands* (fig. 6; Goodrich 224) was painted the following year, but the shapes in this sketch cannot be found in the finished work.

66 LANDSCAPE (SKETCH FOR "COWBOYS IN THE BAD LANDS") Goodrich 228

1887 Oil on canvas (mounted on Masonite) 10⁷/₁₆ x 14¹/₂" (26.5 x 36.8 cm) Unsigned Gift of Seymour Adelman 47-96-2A

THE MUSEUM'S SECOND LANDSCAPE sketch of the Bad Lands, originally mounted on the reverse of the cardboard to which the previous sketch (no. 65) was affixed, shows a somewhat more specific landscape that Eakins saw in North Dakota. He sketched it very loosely, ap-











parently interested more in the pale colors of the parched mountains than in their forms. In the final painting, *Cowboys in the Bad Lands* (fig. 6; Goodrich 224), which Eakins painted in his Philadelphia studio in 1888, the same general color scheme was used, but the shapes in this sketch were not incorporated in it.

67 LANDSCAPE (SKETCH FOR "COWBOYS IN THE BAD LANDS")
Goodrich 227
1887
Oil on canvas (mounted on cardboard)
10¹/₂ x 14¹/₂" (26.7 x 36.8 cm)
Unsigned
Gift of Mrs. Thomas Eakins and
Miss Mary Adeline Williams
30-32-13

THE MUSEUM'S THIRD LANDSCAPE sketch of the Bad Lands is the most finished of the three (see nos. 65 and 66). It shows a view from a hill toward a sweeping vista of sand-colored mountains, pale-green grassy areas, and what appears to be a pale-gray stream. There is no blue in the sky; everything is pale gray, green, or sand color, punctuated by olive-green shrubs.

The paleness and monotony of the landscape that Eakins saw in the North Dakota Bad Lands must have prompted him to paint this sketch. In the final painting, *Cowboys in the Bad Lands* (fig. 6; Goodrich 224), he attempted to recreate this impression, but, in his Philadelphia studio, it developed into a more orderly, less desolate landscape. No specific features

from this sketch were repeated by Eakins in *Cowboys in the Bad Lands*, but its overall tonalities are present.

68 COWBOY (SKETCH FOR "COWBOYS IN THE BAD LANDS")
Goodrich 229
1887
Oil on canvas (mounted on Masonite)
10 x 14¹/₄" (25.4 x 36.2 cm)
Unsigned
Gift of Mrs. Thomas Eakins and
Miss Mary Adeline Williams
30-32-3

During the summer of 1887, when Eakins stayed for about two months in the Bad Lands of North Dakota, he lived a primitive life in the company of simple cowboys. As McHenry relates from a letter that Eakins wrote from the Bad Lands to J. Laurie Wallace, who was then in Chicago: "Eakins was in perfect health and therefore 'moderately happy,' sleeping out on the ground with the boys, living and working with them, trying to learn their ways so that he might paint some. Although the blankets they slept in had frequently been through the river, he had not caught a single cold and had not had one bilious spell. Eakins had never 'met with' 'a nicer set of fellows'" (p. 82). McHenry also quotes George B. Wood, Dr. Wood's son, who was sixteen at the time and was also at the B-T ranch when Eakins stayed there. According to Wood, Eakins was "always busy with his pencil sketching the cowboys and the Bad Lands and the picturesque costumes" (p. 82).



This sketch of a cowboy is one such study to have survived. It is painted on a thin singleweave cotton fabric, which had been glued to cardboard (see no. 65). The thin paint is very loosely brushed on, indicating that Eakins worked rapidly to capture an impression of a particular moment, which would later contribute to the character of the final painting, Cowboys in the Bad Lands (fig. 6; Goodrich 224). The sketch shows a cowboy astride his horse, with the hindquarters of another horse at right just disappearing from the view. The sky and background are very sketchy, but the highlights on the cowboy's face and scarf and the folds of his trousers and the reflections on the metallic stirrups are painted delicately with a small brush. Obviously, these were the details that interested Eakins most.

69 COWBOY (STUDY FOR "COWBOYS IN THE BAD LANDS")
Goodrich 226
1887–88
Oil on canvas
20¹/₁₆ x 24¹/₁₆" (51 x 61.1 cm)
Unsigned
Inscribed, lower right, by Mrs. Eakins: Study for picture / "Cow Boys in Bad Lands' / Eakins
Gift of Mrs. Thomas Eakins and
Miss Mary Adeline Williams
30-32-12

By LATE September 1887 it was time for Eakins to leave the Bad Lands of North Dakota. He bought a white bronco, which he called Billy, and a brown Indian pony, named Baldy, a saddle, and a cowboy outfit, including a buckskin

coat, trousers, chaps, hat, tie, and lariat (Hirshhorn Museum), all of which he brought with him to Philadelphia on a cattle train. He wrote to his wife from the ranch that he intended to keep the horses at his sister's farm in Avondale, Pennsylvania:

I think the children might know now that I am going to bring them an Indian pony. The contemplation will give them perhaps almost as much happiness as the pony itself. I know how happy it makes me to think of giving it to them. I will come riding down Mount Vernon Street and you will be looking out for me, and then I will bring the two horses into the yard, and Harry will smell at them as soon as he finds time to get away from me, and on Saturday you will go down in the morning train to the farm, and I shall ride down. (Quoted in Goodrich, p. 102)

This study was made after Eakins returned to Philadelphia. It is a study for the right-hand cowboy and horse in his painting Cowboys in the Bad Lands, dated 1888 (fig. 6; Goodrich 224). Probably one of Eakins's students posed in the cowboy suit that Eakins had brought back, standing next to his horse Billy. This study may have been done on the Crowells' farm in Avondale, where the horses were kept, or it may have been painted from a photograph that Eakins took on the farm. The brushstrokes are very sure but have none of the boldness found in the sketches in which Eakins searched for form. Eakins did paint such a bold sketch of the figures first (Goodrich 225; Albright-Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo), possibly in the Bad Lands. It is very small $(4^3/4)$ by $6^3/8$ inches) and shows both

horses and cowboys. The Museum's study was the next step in painting the scene. It was squared off, and the outline of the group, reduced in size, was transferred to the final canvas. The arrangement and lighting of this group are identical with that of *Cowboys in the Bad Lands*.

Hendricks called *Cowboys in the Bad Lands* a "curious, strangely surrealistic landscape" (*Life*, p. 178). An inconsistency of the light in the picture—the light on the landscape being quite different from that on the figures—probably gives rise to its curious effect. This may well have resulted from Eakins's use of the tonal sketches made on the trip West as the basis for the landscape, while the figures of the men and the horses were developed in the East, either in Philadelphia or at the farm in Avondale.

After *Cowboys in the Bad Lands*, Eakins painted no other outdoor scenes, even though he continued painting for another twenty-five years.

70 SKETCH FOR "PORTRAIT OF LETITIA WILSON JORDAN" (MRS. LEONARD WOOLSEY BACON)

Goodrich 223 About 1888

Oil on cardboard (mounted on Masonite)

13³/₄ x 10³/₄" (34.9 x 27.3 cm); composition 13³/₄ x 9" (34.9 x 22.9 cm)

Unsigned

Inscribed, lower left, by Mrs. Eakins: T.E.

Gift of Mrs. Thomas Eakins and

Miss Mary Adeline Williams 30-32-8

RECOVERED FROM HIS DEPRESSION, Eakins returned to Philadelphia from the Bad Lands in the fall of 1887. He began painting again, completing his ambitious composition *Cowboys in the Bad Lands* (fig. 6; Goodrich 224), and started to work on portraits, mostly of his friends and students.

This oil sketch of Letitia Wilson Jordan (1852–1931), the sister of Eakins's Academy pupil David Wilson Jordan and later the wife of a Connecticut clergyman Leonard Woolsey Bacon, is a study for a large portrait dated 1888 (Appendix B, fig. 11; Goodrich 222). Goodrich reports that Eakins saw Letitia Jordan at a party and asked her to pose for him in the dark dress she was wearing. The sketch was painted first to establish the colors and composition: she wears the red ribbon around her neck and long buff gloves and carries a gray scarf on her arm, but the position of the open fan in the final painting is not yet fixed.



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When the sketch was completed, Eakins took a pencil and scratched horizontal and vertical lines into the soft paint to square it off for enlargement to the size of the painting. He gave the finished portrait to David Jordan but kept the sketch for himself.

71 DR. D. HAYES AGNEW (DRAWING AFTER "THE AGNEW CLINIC")

About 1889

Ink and pencil on paper Watermark: WHATMAN

 $9^{9}/_{16} \times 6^{1}/_{16}''$ (24.3 × 15.4 cm)

Signed and inscribed, lower left: To my friend / Mrs Talcott Williams / Thomas Eakins.

Gift of Mrs. Donald A. Blaisdell, as a Memorial to Mr. and Mrs. Talcott Williams

74-243-1

WITH THE GREAT DISTINCTION now credited to Eakins as a portraitist, it is remarkable to note that by the time he was forty-five, he had, according to present knowledge, received no more than seven portrait commissions. Thus it was particularly exciting when in early 1889, he was approached by a group of medical students at the University of Pennsylvania, asking him to paint a portrait of their esteemed teacher Dr. David Hayes Agnew for presentation to the university on the occasion of his retirement on the first of May, but a few months off.

Eakins eagerly seized this opportunity. He himself had great admiration for Dr. Agnew, one of the most distinguished surgeons of the time, who for the last twenty-six years had been professor of surgery at the university. Rather than confining the painting to a conventional portrait of the doctor, Eakins proposed to paint a modern version of his Gross Clinic (see no. 23), showing Dr. Agnew during an operation, with patient, assistants, nurses, and students (see no. 88), all for the \$750 that had been offered as a fee for the single portrait. The size chosen for The Agnew Clinic painting was larger than anything Eakins had ever attempted, roughly 61/2 by 11 feet, and the time for its completion was very short. Eakins was able to finish the painting within three months, according to Goodrich, working frantically in his studio, sometimes stretching out on the floor in front of the painting dead asleep from exhaustion.

The Agnew Clinic (Goodrich 235) was completed, as agreed, by May 1, 1889, and presented to the University of Pennsylvania. It is inscribed, "EAKINS COPYRIGHT 1889," on a shelf within the operating enclosure, but the inscription has faded so much that it can be seen only under very strong light. Eakins took a photograph of the painting and filed it with the United States Copyright Office in Washington on November 22, 1889. It is recorded under registration number 35632: "Agnew ptg.' (Photo on file)."





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Some time later, Eakins took a section of the photograph showing Agnew, squared it off in pencil, and then, with pen and ink, transferred it to make this drawing. Such a squared-off detail photograph of Dr. Agnew from The Agnew *Clinic* is preserved in the Hirshhorn Museum. This must have been Eakins's source for the drawing, which was probably intended to serve as a line illustration in a catalogue or bulletin, although no such publication of the drawing has been located. Eakins intended to convey some feeling for his brushwork, hence the short broken lines, which are more reminiscent of the tool marks in a wood engraving than the flowing lines of a pen. Eakins probably gave this drawing to Mrs. Talcott Williams sometime before he was forced to abandon her portrait in its unfinished state (see no. 80).

72 PORTRAIT OF DOUGLASS MORGAN

HALL
Goodrich 233
About 1889
Oil on canvas (rebacked)
24 x 20" (61 x 50.8 cm)
Unsigned
Gift of Mrs. William E. Studdiford
75-90-1

Not much detailed information is known about Douglass Morgan Hall, although he has been the subject of much speculation. He was

born on March 24, 1867, and died on March 9, 1912. The son of Dr. Andrew Douglass Hall, a prominent Philadelphia ophthalmologist, Hall intended to become an artist, but his work never attained more than amateur level. According to his grandniece Mrs. Margaret W. Stein, Hall was considered the black sheep of the family; he never married, and it is said he died of syphilis in his forty-fifth year.

Douglass Hall enrolled at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts in October 1885, when he purchased a one-month ticket for the Antique class. He was then eighteen years old and may have just graduated from high school. He continued to purchase tickets at the Academy until October–November 1886, and therefore was not one of the students who withdrew from the Academy in February 1886 to found the Philadelphia Art Students' League (see no. 73), although later he was enrolled as a student at the League.

The portrait is very strong. Eakins achieved remarkable power by being most economical, almost Spartan, in his brushwork and his composition. The limited range of tonality and the remarkable economy in brushwork suggest the period of Eakins's *Agnew Clinic*, and although the portrait is not dated, we assume that Eakins painted it at the same time, about 1889.

In 1931, Mrs. Eakins wrote to Mrs. William E. Studdiford, Sr., sister of Douglass Hall and mother-in-law of the donor of the painting: "I remember the portrait, as I remember Douglass and the interested visits of his father to the School; most dear memories, Douglass was a great favorite with the pupils of the Art Students League, as well as with my husband" (PMA Archives).

73 SEATED NUDE MAN

Hendricks 193 About 1890 Photograph (silver print) 4¹⁵/₁₆ x 4" (12.5 x 10.1 cm) Unsigned Bequest of Mark Lutz 69-194-26

When, in February 1886, Eakins was forced to resign from his teaching position at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, many of his students were stunned by the event. Petitions were drawn up by both the men and women students and presented to the Academy but were unsuccessful in having Eakins reinstated. Then, George Reynolds, one of the older students, called a meeting, which was attended by some forty students, mostly men.



7.

The following day, February 19, the *Evening Bulletin* reported what had occurred:

The dissatisfied members of the life class at the Academy of the Fine Arts met last evening, at the College of Physicians, and organized an Art Students' League similar to that now in existence in New York. . . . It is estimated that the cost to each student per year will not exceed \$30, or \$18 less than the cost of tuition at the Academy. Professor Eakins, it is understood, has agreed to give his services free of charge for the remainder of the present term. The league will follow the methods in vogue in the life classes abroad, and there will be no restriction in the posing of the nude models, which was the underlying cause of the trouble at the Academy.

According to *The Art Interchange* (vol. 16, no. 6, March 13, 1886, p. 86):

The new movement attracted considerable attention in the city journals, and undue publicity was given the event by the injudicious remarks of one of the Pennsylvania Academy's directors who had been interviewed by a member of the press. The remarks alluded to necessitated a reply from the President of the Students' League, so that the public might be better informed of the true state of affairs, and there the war of words terminated.

The reply of the president, H. T. Cresson, was published as a letter to the editor in *The Evening Item*, February 22, 1886:

In your issue of Feb 21st, I notice an interesting column upon the Eakins' troubles at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, in which Director Bement is interviewed and his ideas of the matter given—I regret to say in a very *one-sided manner*. The gentleman, when asked by your reporter, "What do you think impels them to stick so close to Eakins?" is stated, as per your paper, to have replied: "They desire to gratify their *imagination*, and they hope that Eakins will furnish them with the means of doing so."

... in reply to Mr. Bement's insinuations, directed against the young men who have formed the Art Students' League, of Philadelphia, (whose classes have already begun their work), we beg leave to say that they are as much to be respected for their virtues as any of the Pennsylvania Academy's directors. They desire to study the Entire Nude Figure, not because it affords them pleasure to look at it, but because it is the only true way to obtain the necessary experience to represent a draped figure. . . .

Gerome, Cabanel, Bougereau—in fact any Freneh professor—would seoff at the idea of any one attending a "Life Model Class" if the "points" so necessary in gaining the correct movement, proportion and swing of the figure, were covered, and without their being exposed we cannot imagine how Mr. Eakins (or any other artist) could be expected to give a correct criticism of his pupils' work—especially if it be a study of the nude life model. . . .

. . . if the men (not boys as some of the papers state; the League's roll of 38 members only contains the signatures of 8 minors,) who constitute the class of the Art Students' League, prefer to make their preliminary studies in the ABC's of Art, up to the time when they can paint a strong figure, that is all very well and they ought not to be scoffed at for it. Mr. Eakins insisted on the exposure of the entire figure at the Aeademy, because he had been appointed professor there and felt that he ought to give an *honest criticism* of the nude figure to his pupils—had he deceived and led them into error by attempting a criticism of the nude when covered at the loins, then he would have been dishonest and not have merited the esteem in which he is held by those who appreciate truthful and correct methods of training young artists.

In many ways the League was a reinearnation of the Art Students' Union of 1877–78. Both schools were founded solely to provide a forum for Eakins when this was denied him by the Aeademy. The brochure published by the school for the season of 1886–87 declared its goals: "The Art Students' League is an association formed for the study of Drawing, Painting, and Sculpture. The basis of its study is the nude human figure. It is to be controlled entirely by the Artists and Art Students who are working members of the League. . . . regular criticisms, and lectures on Artistic Anatomy and Perspective, will be given by Mr. Thomas Eakins" (Hirshhorn Museum).

The League was organized as a cooperative venture, and there were no sponsors or stockholders, such as the Academy had, to contribute to the school and absorb its deficit. Tuition was supposed to pay for rent, heat, light, and models' fees. As could have been expected, the League's expenses were often greater than its income, and students frequently posed for each other, thus saving the cost of a model.

This photograph shows a model in one of the rented rooms that the Art Students' League of Philadelphia used between 1886 and 1893. A second photograph showing an enlarged detail of the figure alone is in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Hendrieks 194). The interior view is the same as that in still another Eakins photograph of a nude male model (Hendrieks 198), and the model may also be the same. In that photograph, he was identified by Charles Bregler as Duckett, a runner who died in his early thirties.

The Art Students' League had four known locations. Its first quarters, for only about two months, were at 1429 Market Street. By April 10, 1886, the classes had increased so rapidly, according to The Art Interchange (vol. 16, no. 8, p. 118), that it moved to a suite of studios at 1338 Chestnut Street, near Eakins's studio at 1330 Chestnut. When the rent became too expensive, in 1888, the school moved to a building at 1816 Market Street, which was destroyed by fire in 1890. One last move was made to 46 North Twelfth Street, above the premises of the Philadelphia Dental College, where the students were permitted to use its dissecting room. By 1893 the Art Students' League had folded. According to McHenry (p. 108), the students simply drifted away, leaving their treasurer and secretary, Francis I. Ziegler, to cope with the unpaid rent.



74 THE BOHEMIAN (PORTRAIT OF FRANKLIN LOUIS SCHENCK)

Goodrich 243 About 1890 Oil on canvas (rebacked) 23⁷/₈ x 19³/₄" (60.6 x 50.2 cm) Signed, lower right: EAKINS Gift of Mrs. Thomas Eakins and Miss Mary Adeline Williams 29-184-15

Franklin Schenck (1855–1926) was for a brief period a close friend of Thomas Eakins. He was a painter, poet, and musician, but, above all, a Bohemian, someone who disregards conventional standards of behavior, as the dictionary neatly defines it. Schenck, of German descent, was born in New York City. He came to Philadelphia around 1888 when he was twenty-three, penniless, without family or relatives. He enrolled in the Art Students' League and soon succeeded George Reynolds as its curator. Schenck lived at the League, and it seems that he was largely supported by Eakins, who paid him to pose, fed him at his house, and even took him along on visits to his sister's farm in Avondale, Pennsylvania.

Goodrich lists seven Eakins paintings in which Schenck posed, among them *The Bohemian*, *Cowboy Singing* (no. 82), and *Home Ranch* (no. 83). Schenck also appears in many of Eakins's photographs. Around 1890, Samuel Murray sculpted Schenck's bust portrait (see no. 75), and it is likely that Schenck was the model

for many of the works produced at the Art Students' League between 1888 and 1893.

Shortly after, when the League dissolved for lack of funds and interest, Schenck left Philadelphia. He first went to Brooklyn, then settled in East Northport, Long Island, where he lived a secluded life in a little cottage he built himself, poor but obviously content.

In *The Bohemian*, Eakins succeeded in penetrating the surface of Schenck's features to convey his friend's character, much as he had done some twenty-five years earlier in his portrait of J. Harry Lewis (no. 25). He chose not to include the eyeglasses that Schenck wears in some of his photographs, and to disregard much detail; instead, he concentrated on just the left half of Schenck's face, which he placed in a strong raking light. The rest of the portrait recedes into darkness, giving the viewer no choice but to focus on the light and to contemplate the left eye, which is most carefully modeled, showing tiny blond eyelashes and a very small highlight.

75 SAMUEL MURRAY MODELING A BUST OF FRANKLIN SCHENCK

Hendricks 164 About 1890 Photograph (silver print) 3¹⁵/₁₆ x 4¹⁵/₁₆" (10 X 12.5 cm) Unsigned Bequest of Mark Lutz 69-194-24

Samuel Aloysius Murray (1869–1941) was the eleventh child of William Murray, an immigrant Irish stonecutter who was himself painted by Eakins around 1904 (Goodrich 409; private collection). In the fall of 1886, Murray met Eakins, and soon joined the Philadelphia Art Students' League. He studied painting at first, but then switched to sculpture under Eakins's guidance.

This photograph taken about 1890 shows Murray in Eakins's studio modeling a clay bust of Franklin Schenck (see no. 74). Three other Eakins photographs of the scene are also known (Hendricks 165–67). Murray must have developed his artistic skills quite rapidly, for by early 1891, when he was only twenty-one, he began to teach a class in modeling at the Philadelphia School of Design for Women (now Moore College of Art), where he continued to teach for some fifty years. In 1892, he was teaching at the Art Students' League, and is listed in their brochure as assistant professor. The first known exhibition of his work was at the annual exhibition of the Pennsylvania



Academy of the Fine Arts in 1892. The following year he sent two bronzes to the World's Col-

umbian Exposition in Chicago.

Murray became like a son to Eakins. He shared Eakins's Chestnut Street studio from 1892 to 1900, saw him nearly every day, and enjoyed a close relationship with him, which ended only with Eakins's death. Eakins painted a portrait of Murray (Goodrich 238; private collection) and included him in the background of *Home Ranch* (no. 83).

Murray frequently made sculptures of the people whom Eakins painted. His bust of Franklin Schenck was only the first of a large group that includes the Walt Whitman portrait that was exhibited in Chicago (copyrighted by Murray on November 12, 1892), Benjamin Eakins (signed 1894), William Macdowell (signed 1897), The Wrestlers (signed 1899), and Admiral Melville (signed 1905). Indeed, more than thirty-five sculptures by Murray repeat subjects painted earlier or simultaneously by Eakins. Eakins also worked with Murray on a number of his large commissions, including the twelve monumental Prophets for the Witherspoon Building on South Broad Street in Philadelphia (now removed) and the statue of Commodore Barry in Independence National Historic Park.

76 THE RED SHAWL
Goodrich 256
About 1890
Oil on canvas (rebacked)
24 x 20" (61 x 50.8 cm)
Unsigned
Gift of Mrs. Thomas Eakins and
Miss Mary Adeline Williams
29-184-11

THE EXACT DATE of this portrait, which has come to be known as *The Red Shawl*, is not known, although McHenry says that it was



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painted during the period of the Art Students' League of Philadelphia, between 1886 and 1893. On stylistic grounds, relating *The Red Shawl* to *The Concert Singer* (no. 78), an approximate date of 1890 seems reasonable, although later dates have also been suggested, and a date as late as 1900 would not be impossible.

Eakins was obviously much taken by the young model's large, sad eyes and sensuous mouth, and he rendered her face with utmost sympathy. Her embroidered shawl, which provides the title for this portrait, is more broadly painted, showing much less detail than the face. Eakins left the painting unfinished in the lower-right corner, allowing the primed canvas to remain visible in this area.

The identity of the sitter has provoked some discussion although both McHenry and Goodrich agree that she was a professional model. Goodrich called her a "young mulatto woman," while in 1917 Mrs. Eakins referred to her as an "octoroon" in a letter to Bryson Burroughs. Schendler sees in The Red Shawl a conscious effort by the artist to deal with the black experience in America: "Her large-eyed stare takes in an entire world of sadness within the American experience, one almost untouched by other American artists in Eakins' time" (p. 130). Ellwood Parry, in The Image of the Indian and the Black Man in American Art (New York, 1974), does not specifically mention this painting, but credits Eakins with being more sympathetic to black subjects than was usual at the time: "Like the inherent dignity of Winslow Homer's Virginia subjects, there is a seriousness and weight to Eakins's images involving Black men that set them apart from the vulgarizations of lesser artists" (p. 152).

Eakins never exhibited *The Red Shawl*. The portrait was first shown in the Eakins memorial exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York in 1917, and also illustrated in the catalogue. Later that year, Philadelphians saw it for the first time at the Eakins exhibition at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts.

77 SKETCH FOR "THE CONCERT SINGER" Goodrich 267

Goodrich 267 About 1890

Oil on canvas mounted on cardboard

 $13^{3/4}$ x $10^{3/8}$ " (34.9 x 26.4 cm); composition 13 x $8^{1/2}$

(33 x 21,6 cm)

Unsigned

Gift of Mrs. Thomas Eakins and Miss Mary Adeline Williams

29-184-20



77

In 1887 and 1888, Eakins made frequent trips across the river to Camden, New Jersey, where he visited Walt Whitman (see no. 79) and painted a portrait of the poet, which he finished in the spring of 1888. On one of these visits he probably met Weda Cook (1867–1937), the model for this picture. Born in Camden, she was a friend of Walt Whitman and then just beginning a career as a contralto singer. Some years earlier she had composed music for Whitman's poem "O Captain! My Captain!"

Weda Cook soon became friendly with Eakins, Samuel Murray, and the students of the Art Students' League of Philadelphia (see no. 73). She sang at the League's third anniversary party, on February 22, 1889, and it may have been on this occasion that Eakins, who loved music, decided to paint her portrait as

The Concert Singer (no. 78).

This sketch for *The Concert Singer* is a rapidly painted notation of Eakins's vision of the general composition. His brushwork becomes detailed only in the areas that particularly interested him, especially the mouth, throat, and ear of the singer. The rest of the canvas is empty, except for the lower-left corner where a conductor's hand holds a baton. The hand is defined with not much more than a few rapid



strokes of paint. As in most of his quick compositional sketches, Eakins defined the dimensions of the picture by painting a frame around the composition, which in this case appears only on the left side and along the bottom.

78 THE CONCERT SINGER
Goodrich 266
1890–92
Oil on canvas (rebacked)
75¹/₈ x 54¹/₄" (190.8 x 137.8 cm)
Signed, upper right: EAKINS / 92.
Gift of Mrs. Thomas Eakins and
Miss Mary Adeline Williams
29-184-19

THE IDEA FOR *The Concert Singer* (or *The Singer*, as Eakins originally called this painting) was eonecived when Eakins observed Weda Cook singing in a concert—possibly at the Art Students' League's third anniversary party on February 22, 1889—and decided to paint her. As was his working method, he first painted an oil sketch to establish the salient features of the composition (no. 77). The singer is shown there, dressed in a long rose-colored taffeta dress, which her sisters Katherine and Dorothy had made for her, singing "O Rest in the Lord" from Mendelssohn's *Elijah*.

While Weda Cook was posing for the fulllength painting in the Chestnut Street studio, Eakins asked her before each session to sing the same lines from *Elijab* so that he could observe the action of her mouth and throat. She later told Goodrich that while she would sing these lines, Eakins watched her "as if under a microscope" (p. 144). He apparently decided to depict her at the very moment she sang the e sound in the word rest. Later Eakins commemorated this musical phrase by earving notes into the bottom part of the wide but plain gilt frame that was made especially for this painting and is still on it. He commented on his purpose in doing this in a letter to Prof. Henry A. Rowland: "I onee painted a concert singer and on the ehestnut frame I earved the opening bars of Mendelsohn's 'Rest in the Lord.' It was ornamental unobtrusive and to musicians I think it emphasized the expression of the face and pose of the figure" (October 4, 1897, Addison Gallery of American Art, Andover, Mass., typescript).

The notes at the bottom of the frame eorrespond to the words "O rest in the Lord, wait patiently for." And patience indeed was required of Weda Cook in posing for The Concert Singer. Eakins worked on the painting for two years, steadily during the first year, a length of time that was not unusual for the artist. Eventually, however, her patience wore out, and as she told Goodrieh, after two years she was no longer able to continue her posing. Synnove Haughom ("Thomas Eakins' The Concert Singer," Antiques, vol. 108, no. 6, December 1975, p. 1184, n. 2) eites a more specific reason, reported later by Weda Cook's ehildren. According to them, one of Eakins's nieces had told her an "unsavory story" about Eakins, which she believed to be true, causing her to stop seeing him. The nieee was probably Ella Crowell, the daughter of Eakins's sister Frances, who was apparently mentally unstable (see no. 89). Eventually Weda Cook realized that the rumors about Eakins were false, and she and Eakins

became friends again, certainly by about 1895, when he painted her portrait (Goodrich 277; Columbus Gallery of Fine Arts, Ohio); that of her husband Stanley Addicks, an organist and pianist whom she had married in 1894 (Goodrich 278; Indianapolis Museum of Art); and that of her sister Maud (Goodrich 279; Yale University Art Gallery).

Eakins kept working on *The Concert Singer* even after Weda Cook no longer posed for him. He painted the right foot from an empty slipper, which he had placed on the floor with the dress draped over it. McHenry reports that Eakins had some doubts about the accuracy of this foot and therefore asked Frank Linton, a student at the Art Students' League, his thoughts on it. Although Linton saw nothing wrong with it, the foot does seem somewhat inconsistent with the rest of the picture. It is interesting that Eakins was so deeply involved with the painting that he could not judge it himself.

Eakins went to great lengths to portray the hand of the conductor accurately. For the sketch, the baton was held "as you would a pencil or a paint brush" (McHenry, pp. 121–22), but now a professional was required to hold the baton correctly. Thus Charles M. Schmitz, the conductor of the Germania Orchestra Concerts at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, posed for Eakins with the baton in the correct position.

The bouquet of flowers, which does not appear at all in the oil sketch, seems to have been a somewhat later addition to the composition. Close examination reveals that it was painted over a finished floor area.

The Concert Singer is felt by many to be one of Eakins's most suecessful and most haunting works. His intense involvement permeates the painting and ean be sensed by any viewer who takes the time to study it. Eakins himself liked the painting and exhibited it in 1893 in the Pennsylvania State Building at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago.

In 1914, twenty-two years after *The Concert Singer* was completed, at a time when Eakins was blind and no longer able to paint, Weda Cook Addieks wrote him, apparently asking for the painting. Eakins replied: "I was very glad to have your note. I cannot however part with the picture.. It must be largely exhibited yet. I have many memories of it, some happy, some sad. Your boy can see it any time. Probably it will be his some day but not now" (Haughom, cited above, p. 1184, fig. 3). Eakins's handwriting on the letter is clear and legible, but his hand shook as he slowly wrote the words. His signa-

ture slants down to the lower-right corner. Two and a half years later he died, still owning *The Concert Singer*, which was eventually given to the Museum by his widow and their friend.

- 79 WALT WHITMAN About 1891 Bequest of Mark Lutz
 - A Profile View, with Shawl Hendricks 157 Photograph (silver print) 4¹⁵/₁₆ x 3¹⁵/₁₆" (12.5 x 10 cm) Unsigned 69-194-21
 - B Front View, with Shawl Hendricks 155 Photograph (silver print) 3¹⁵/₁₆ x 4⁷/₈" (10 x 12.4 cm) Unsigned 69-194-22
 - C Front View, with Fur Rug Hendricks 152 Photograph (silver print) $3^{15}/_{16} \times 4^{15}/_{16}$ " (10 x 12.5 cm) Unsigned 69-194-23

WHEN WALT WHITMAN (1819-1892), the famous American poet and author of Leaves of Grass, came to live in Camden, New Jersey, in 1873, his abilities and reputation were still a matter of furious controversy. His income at the time was derived from the sale of his books, from his reading, and from occasional newspaper articles. He knew Eakins's friend Talcott Williams, the associate editor of The Philadelphia Press (see no. 80), and one day, apparently in the spring of 1887, Williams brought Eakins to visit the poet. Whitman then lived in his own small house at 328 Mickle Street in Camden, not far from the Philadelphia-Camden ferry, which was the easiest and quickest way to pass from Philadelphia into New Jersey. Eakins must have taken this ferry often, given the frequency of his expeditions to the banks of the Delaware in New Jersey (see nos. 40 to 44), and a trip to Camden would have been no unusual occurrence. It has been reported that this first meeting took place after Eakins's visit to the Bad Lands (see nos. 65 to 68), but a quotation from Whitman describing Eakins as "sick, run down, out of sorts," before he went "among the cowboys: herded: built up miraculously" (quoted in Horace Traubel, With Walt Whitman in Camden, vol. 4, Philadelphia, 1953, p. 135) indicates that they knew each other prior to the summer of 1887.



79 A

Whitman did not respond favorably to Eakins at first. He thought that the artist "seemed careless, negligent, indifferent" and "negative in quality, manner, intuition" (quoted in Traubel, cited above, pp. 155–56). But Eakins must have immediately felt a kinship for Whitman, for two or three weeks later he returned, "carried a black canvas under his arm: said he had understood I was willing he should paint me: he had come to start the job. I laughed: told him I was content to have him go ahead: so he set to" (quoted in Traubel, cited above, p. 155). It was probably Talcott Williams who told Eakins that Whitman would like him to do a portrait, although judging from Whitman's remarks, it seems that he had not expressed it as such.

Eakins then and there began to paint his portrait of Walt Whitman (fig. 5; Goodrich 220). According to Whitman, he "painted like a fury" (quoted in Traubel, cited above, p. 155). The portrait, which was completed in the spring of 1888, ranks among Eakins's most powerful statements. Whitman did not like the portrait at first, but later he explained: "Eakins' picture grows on you. It is not all seen at once—it only dawns on you gradually. It was not at first a pleasant version to me, but the more I get to realize it the profounder seems its insight" (quoted in Horace Traubel, With Walt Whitman in Camden, vol. 1, New York, 1915, p. 39). Even-



79 B

tually Eakins's portrait became Whitman's favorite and he came to appreciate the quiet artist with whom he shared a love of nature and a disregard for superficial conventions. Both men were, as Goodrich expressed it, "deeply at home in their own country and yet in rebellion against its puritanism" (p. 122).

Until Whitman's death in 1892, Eakins often visited the poet, whose health was steadily declining. Frequently, Eakins's friend Samuel Murray went with him, and Franklin Schenck is also said to have accompanied them at times. Murray was later to recount to McHenry (pp. 84–86) that he photographed Whitman while Eakins painted him, that he used Eakins's cam-

era, and that he frequently went to take photographs of Whitman without Eakins. Hendricks, however, has identified ten photographs of Walt Whitman that he believes to have been taken by Eakins himself.

Of these ten (Hendricks 151–60), examples of three are in the Philadelphia Museum of Art. Two (A and B) were probably taken during a single visit because Whitman is dressed exactly the same in both, wearing a tapestry-like shawl around his shoulders. Hendricks has identified these as part of a group of four photographs taken at one time. In the third Museum photograph (c), Whitman wears no shawl, but a fur rug is draped over the back of his chair; Hen-



79 C

dricks has identified this as one of a group of three taken at the same time. According to Hendricks, the second group was taken during another visit, but both visits occurred during

1801.

These three photographs are not studies for Eakins's painting. They are very beautiful statements, sensitively lighted and earefully framed. The fact that Eakins made so many photographs of Whitman clearly shows how fascinated he was with the extraordinary qualities of Whitman's features.

After Whitman's death, Eakins and Murray took a death mask of the poet. At the funeral, Eakins and Talcott Williams served, among others, as honorary pallbearers. Later Murray, as well as Eakins's friends William R. O'Donovan (see no. 84) and Charles Bregler, modeled bust portraits of Walt Whitman, using a number of these photographs as their source for his likeness.

80 THE BLACK FAN (PORTRAIT OF MRS.

TALCOTT WILLIAMS)
Goodrich 259
About 1891 (unfinished)
Oil on canvas (rebacked)
80¹/₁₆ x 40¹/₁₆" (203.4 x 101.8 cm)
Unsigned
Gift of Mrs. Thomas Eakins and
Miss Mary Adeline Williams
29-184-30

TALCOTT WILLIAMS, the husband of the subject of *The Black Fan*, was a well-known Philadelphia journalist and associate editor of *The Philadelphia Press*. He was a friend of Eakins, and had introduced the artist to Walt Whitman (*see* no. 79). About 1890, Eakins had painted a portrait of Talcott Williams (Goodrich 242; private eollection); somewhat later he began a full-length portrait of his wife, the former Sophia Wells Royce (1858–1928), showing her in a white dress, holding a black fan, but never finished it.

According to Goodrich, Mrs. Williams did not eare for the portrait and would not continue the sittings. But Elizabeth Dunbar reports a somewhat different version in her biography of Talcott Williams, which if true, accounts for the fact that the painting was never completed:

To end a lie of nearly half a century I am telling you this incident as told me by the artist. Mrs. Williams had been posing and the work was nearly finished. One day a man at the head of the Delsarte movement came in for



80

a moment and at the sight of him Mrs. Williams tueked in her belly and stood like a stuffed mannikin. When the ealler had gone nothing could induce her to resume the original pose, whereupon Mr. Eakins—big child as he was—gave her a tap and said, "Don't hold yourself in here." Whereupon she flouneed off and told T she had been insulted; she never stood again. TW eould have had that portrait, now an "old Master," as a gift. When Eakins eame to be recognised as the greatest painter in American art TW was anxious to get the picture but the artist refused. (Talcott Williams: Gentleman of the Fourth Estate, Brooklyn, 1936, pp. 215–16)

Although no sketch for this portrait is known, one must have existed (much like no. 64 or no.



70), for squaring lines at four-inch intervals are still visible in the background at top. Had Mrs. Williams continued to pose, Eakins would have further modeled the right upper arm and the face. But the portrait is almost finished, and Eakins himself chose to exhibit it as "Portrait" at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts annual exhibition in 1915, at a time when he was no longer able to paint. It was allotted a place of honor, in gallery F, and was very favorably reviewed by both the *Philadelphia Inquirer* and the *Bulletin*. It was probably at that time that Talcott Williams tried to obtain the portrait.

Eakins inscribed the Museum's drawing of Dr. Agnew (no. 71), "To my friend Mrs Talcott Williams," the subject of *The Black Fan*. One would only assume that this inscription predates the incident reported here that resulted in Mrs. Williams's refusal to continue posing for the por-

trait.

81 AMELIA C. VAN BUREN

Hendricks 177 About 1891 Photograph (platinum print) 3³/₈ x 5³/₈" (8.6 x 13.7 cm) Unsigned Gift of Seymour Adelman 68-203-2

According to Goodrich, Amelia Van Buren was an artist and one of Eakins's most gifted pupils at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts. However, the Academy's enrollment records list her only during the spring term of 1884 and again for one month beginning December 29, 1884. She lived in Detroit, and although she does not seem to have exhibited paintings in the Academy annuals, she did show several works in the first three international Philadelphia Photographic Salons, in 1898, 1899, and 1900. Samuel Murray told

McHenry (p. 126) that she remained friendly with Eakins and that she frequently stayed at the Eakinses' house.

Around 1891, according to Hendricks, Eakins took this and a number of other photographs of Amelia Van Buren (Hendricks 176–79). These four photographs show the same background, a decorative curtain, which does not appear in any other Eakins photographs. We do not know where they were taken, although the half-length portrait that Eakins painted of her some time between 1889 and 1891 (fig. 7; Goodrich 263) was undoubtedly done in his Chestnut Street studio. None of these photographs was a study for a portrait as the photograph of William Sartain (no. 51) may have been.

Of the four known photographs of Amelia Van Buren, this is probably the most beautiful and the most accomplished. Eakins consciously chose a strong diagonal composition, composed of the sitter's hand, the cat, and the intense face, half in shadow. The background curtain is intentionally blurred here, more so than in the other photographs, so that its square patterns would not detract from the impact of the composition.

82 COWBOY SINGING

Goodrich 250
About 1892
Oil on canvas (rebacked)
24 x 20" (61 x 50.8 cm)
Unsigned
Inscribed, lower right, by Mrs. Eakins: Eakins
Gift of Mrs. Thomas Eakins and
Miss Mary Adeline Williams
29-184-22

Cowboy Singing is one of Eakins's nostalgic recreations of the life that he had experienced with such satisfaction during his visit to the Bad Lands of North Dakota in the summer of 1887 (see nos. 65 to 68). When he returned he had brought back with him a buckskin suit, a saddle, and two horses, which he used in his studio sketches for the painting Cowboys in the Bad Lands (see no. 69) and in the painting itself, dated 1888 (fig. 6; Goodrich 224).

Four years later, he returned to this theme, painting four scenes of cowboy life, all posed in the studio by his friend Franklin Schenck (see no. 74), dressed in Eakins's cowboy suit. According to McHenry, Schenck was an excellent musician who often entertained the pupils of the Art Students' League of Philadelphia with his singing and guitar playing. Shortly after the





82

League dissolved, Schenck left Philadelphia to live the life of a recluse on Long Island, where according to Nelson White, he "painted to please himself alone. . . . When painting flagged he played his guitar and sang to it so that birds came to his window to join in the melody" ("Franklin L. Schenck," *Art in America*, vol. 19, no. 2, February 1931, p. 85).

In this painting, Schenck is shown singing and playing a banjo, turned half left. Except for the chair, no other objects are included in the scene, which is set against a loose and sketchy background. Unlike Home Ranch (no. 83), another statement of this subject, Cowboy Singing has no specific center of interest that can be called a focal point. Eakins's brushwork is skillful and surprisingly simple: small paint strokes produce the desired effect of a reflection here and there, the texture of leather, highlights on the instrument—even a loose string on the banjo's head-yet these details are in no way tight or labored. The flesh tones of Schenck's face and hands were first painted in a bright pink, but Eakins then toned them down with a gray scumble, which he rubbed into the paint surface.

About the same time, Eakins also painted a watercolor entitled *Cowboy Singing* (Goodrich 249). Both paintings show Schenck dressed in the cowboy suit, with a banjo, but they are not identical, and the oil should not be considered a study for the watercolor. In the watercolor,

Schenck is shown almost full face, turned slightly right, but not as far as his stance in *Home Ranch*. Rather, the three cowboy pictures, together with *Head of a Cowboy* (Goodrich 247; Amherst College Museum), are four different treatments of the same subject. *Home Ranch*, being the most finished of the four, is probably Eakins's resolution of the theme. Since *Home Ranch* is dated 1892, we have assumed that *Cowboy Singing* was painted at about the same time.

83 HOME RANCH
Goodrich 248
1892
Oil on canvas (rebacked)
24 x 20" (61 x 50.8 cm)
Signed on table, at right: EAKINS 92
Gift of Mrs. Thomas Eakins and
Miss Mary Adeline Williams
29-184-12

HOME RANCH, like Cowboy Singing (no. 82), shows Franklin Schenck dressed in Eakins's cowboy suit singing and playing an instrument, here a guitar. The focal point of the painting is Schenck's right hand, particularly the extended little finger, which is painted in such meticulous detail that it includes dirt under his fingernail. The guitar is hard-edged and precisely rendered; the strings were incised with a sharp instrument. The young man in the back-

ground, sitting at a table and holding a fork in his right hand, is Eakins's former student Samuel Murray (see no. 75). Murray's face is more subdued, painted with thinner paint, and with less contrast; but it also is meticulously modeled with tiny soft brushstrokes. A blurred black cat with magical yellow eyes was added by Eakins after he had already completed the table leg, which the cat now partly conceals. Probably he included the cat in order to balance the strongly diagonal composition with a perpendicular movement.

Eakins exhibited *Home Ranch* at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893. Three years later, he submitted it again for exhibition to the first Carnegie annual exhibition in Pittsburgh, but it was rejected.

84 CLINKER (MODEL FOR RELIEF FOR BROOKLYN MEMORIAL ARCH)

Goodrich 511

1892

Painted plaster, wire, and muslin 25³/₄ x 26 x 4¹/₂" (65.4 x 66 x 11.4 cm) Signed, bottom center: EAKINS / 1892 Inscribed, upper left: Clinker charger belonging

to / A J Cassatt Esq. / Chesterbrook Farm Berwyn / Penna.

Samuel S. Fleisher Art Memorial, administered by the Philadelphia Museum of Art

When the sculptor William R. O'Donovan secured the commission in 1891 for the two bronze equestrian reliefs of Abraham Lincoln and Ulysses S. Grant for the Soldiers' and Sailors' Memorial Arch in the Grand Army Plaza in Brooklyn, he asked Eakins to collaborate on the project and model the horses. As Cleveland Moffet explained somewhat later in an article discussing the commission: "There is probably no man in the country, certainly no artist, who has studied the anatomy of the horse so profoundly as Eakins, or who possesses such intimate knowledge of its every joint and muscle" ("Grant and Lincoln in Bronze," McClure's Magazine, vol. 5, no. 5, October 1895, p. 421).

Eakins and O'Donovan were friends. In 1891, Eakins had painted a portrait of O'Donovan (Goodrich 477), at the same time that O'Donovan modeled a bust of Eakins. Eakins's portrait was exhibited at the National Academy of Design in 1892 and at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893. Unfortunately, both O'Donovan's bust of Eakins and Eakins's portrait showing O'Donovan modeling it are lost.

The commission for the Brooklyn Memorial Arch was awarded by the State of New York. The panels were to be life size, showing Lincoln on one side, Grant on the other; both presidents were to be astride horses and portrayed as if they were saluting regiments of soldiers. In executing the commission, Eakins was not willing just to sculpt an ideal horse for each rider, based on his knowledge of equine anatomy (see nos. 30 and 45) with details drawn from different models. Rather, he first had to find two animals that were perfectly suited in every respect for his subjects.

Finding a horse for Lincoln was relatively simple because the president never cared for showy chargers. Eakins's horse Billy, who was still on his sister's farm in Avondale (see no. 69), would serve perfectly. According to Moffet: "Billy' was felt to be in harmony with Lincoln's simple and unpretentious character; he was just such a horse as the President might have got from some trooper, or have ridden when he was a lawyer practising in circuits covering fifteen

counties" (p. 422).

Choosing General Grant's mount was a far more formidable problem, recounted Moffet: "Here was needed a charger of ideal proportions, a creature of strength and race, a splendid animal fit to carry a great commander into battle. Nor could they choose at random; for . . . the names and descriptions of Grant's horses . . . are preserved in history. Every soldier knows how the general loved his big 'Cincinnati,' whose fine points are still proudly spoken of" (p. 422). Unfortunately, Cincinnati was dead, and so were all the other horses ridden by Grant, and Eakins had to find a living specimen that would answer the necessary requirements.

Moffet tells how the two sculptors spent many days visiting West Point, where the cadets rode bareback first, and then in every position a soldier would take on a horse. Eakins made dozens of instantaneous photographs, and both he and O'Donovan made many small studies in wax, but they did not find their horse. They went on, and saw prize horses at a horse show, fashionable horses in Newport and Long Branch, trick horses in circuses, but still they could not locate a perfect charger for General Grant.

Finally they found it in Clinker, "a saddle-horse owned by A.J. Cassatt, of Philadelphia. In 'Clinker' there is not a pound of waste matter, but everything seems to be made for speed and endurance. He is a short-coupled horse, with just room on his back for a saddle, as a charger should be, with great breadth of chest,





and at once heavy and compact" (Moffet, p.

423)

Cassatt was the powerful head of the Pennsylvania Railroad and brother of Mary Cassatt, the now-famous artist, whom Eakins knew during his student days at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts. Cassatt must have been impressed by the importance of the commission for he permitted Eakins to use Clinker as a model. However, he probably did not allow Eakins to take Clinker to his sister's farm in Avondale, as Moffet relates (p. 423); probably only Lincoln's mount Billy was modeled there. Instead, Eakins must have worked at Cassatt's farm in Berwyn, Pennsylvania, as the inscription on the plaster would suggest.

First Eakins made a wax model of Clinker, one-sixteenth the size the finished statue would be. This model still survives, along with a 1930 bronze cast of it (Goodrich 510), in the Hirshhorn Museum. Then Eakins made a quartersize model in clay and afterward cast it in plaster. From this, according to Moffet, a life-size sculpture was constructed. The plaster "was scratched with parallel lines running from side to side and from top to bottom, about three inches apart. These lines were for guidance in building up the frame for the life-size statue, . . . [which] was not made in one piece, but in ten" (pp. 423-24). Each piece was made of wood and covered with wire netting, over which Eakins spread clay one inch thick. The final modeling then was done from the living horse. Eakins would "copy in the clay every curve and muscle and vein of that part of the horse corresponding to the frame. As soon as each section was finished in the clay a cast of it was made in plaster, and when all the sections were done they were carefully fitted together into a whole" (p. 424). An illustration of Eakins working on the center section of the horse in clay with the smaller plaster propped up in front of him as a guide is reproduced with Moffet's article (p. 428).

The life-size plaster model of Clinker was finished in April 1892. It was then sent to the National Fine Art Foundery on East Twenty-fifth Street in New York, where it was cast in bronze, fitted with O'Donovan's sculpture of Grant, and eventually installed on the Brooklyn Memorial Arch opposite Billy, who supported O'Donovan's figure of Lincoln. The reliefs "seem to have come in for a liberal share of adverse criticism," wrote the reviewer for *The Art Amateur*, and he himself noted: "The Grant figure has one good point: it sits the horse well. But the latter is one of the ugliest beasts that we

have seen in bronze, and trails his right foreleg like a tired donkey" (vol. 34, no. 3, February 1896, p. 60).

The Fleisher relief of Clinker is the original quarter-size plaster model, which served Eakins in constructing the full-size clay sections. The squaring lines at three-inch intervals can still be seen, and a scale in the upper-left background divides a three-inch interval into thirteen segments. Most of this plaster relief was cast from Eakins's clay model, but the freestanding legs were modeled in plaster over a wire armature covered with muslin. Moffet's article reproduces the clay model at an earlier stage (p. 423) in which a nucle man is seated on the horse. When this figure was subsequently removed, some of the modeling of his thigh remained and can be seen on the saddle. The background panel also shows tool marks where the body of the rider was scraped off.

The white plaster surface was later painted with oil paint to resemble antique bronze. This was probably done by Samuel Murray after the artist's death. In 1930, this plaster was cast in

bronze (see no. 85).

85 CLINKER (MODEL FOR RELIEF FOR BROOKLYN MEMORIAL ARCH)

Goodrich 511 1892 (cast 1930)

Bronze

25 X $25^{1/2}$ X $4^{3/8}$ " (63.5 X 64.8 X 11.1 cm) Signed, bottom center: EAKINS / 1892

Inscribed, upper left: Clinker charger belonging to / A J Cassatt Esq. / Chesterbrook Farm Berwyn / Penna.

Stamped on base, lower right: ROMAN BRONZE WORKS N.Y.

Gift of Mrs. Thomas Eakins and Miss Mary Adeline Williams 30-32-24

IN 1892, Eakins sent his life-size relief of Clinker to New York, where it was cast in bronze by the National Fine Art Foundery (see no. 84). Cleveland Moffet described in detail how the large sculpture was cast ("Grant and Lincoln in Bronze," McClure's Magazine, vol. 5, no. 5, October 1895, pp. 426–32). Most of the workmen of the National Fine Art Foundery had come from France, and some had been trained by the famous Fonderie Barbédienne in Paris. Using the sand-casting method (see no. 30), they cast the horses and riders in sections and then welded them together. The casting was an intricate and lengthy job, which took the foundry several years to complete. Moffet

reported that although Eakins's plaster was shipped to New York in the spring of 1892, the bronze casts were not completed until 1895.

No bronze cast of the quarter-size relief of *Clinker* (no. 84) is known to have been made during Eakins's lifetime. After his death, Mrs. Eakins commissioned the Roman Bronze Works of New York to cast the relief in bronze. The casting of this, and of most of the other Eakins plasters that were then in Mrs. Eakins's possession, was accomplished during 1930 (see no. 30), but how many bronze casts of *Clinker* were then made is not known.

86 PORTRAIT OF JOSHUA BALLINGER LIPPINCOTT Goodrich 268 1892 Oil on canvas (rebacked) 30¹/₈ x 25" (76.5 x 63.5 cm) Signed, lower left: T.E. / 92. Gift of Mrs. Bertha Coles in memory of Mrs. Stricker Coles

67-37-1

NOT ALL OF THOMAS EAKINS'S portraits are powerful statements, nor indeed are they all great works of art. His posthumous portrait of Joshua Ballinger Lippincott (1813–1886), for example, lacks the power of conviction that is found in Eakins's best work. This becomes particularly apparent when comparing this painting with the Museum's other works by Eakins, for most of the collection was the gift of Mrs. Eakins and Miss Williams, who took great care in selecting for the Museum work of a consistently high quality.

Lippincott was the founder of the Philadelphia publishing house J.B. Lippincott & Co. Undoubtedly, Eakins knew Lippincott as early as 1884 since he was a financial supporter of Muybridge's experiments at the University of Pennsylvania, for which Eakins was one of the supervisors (see no. 58). In addition, in 1886, Lippincott's firm published the Book of American Figure Painters, which reproduced Eakins's Lady with a Setter Dog (Goodrich 213). The artist's account book (collection of Mr. and Mrs. Daniel W. Dietrich H) lists the receipt of \$100 on September 10, 1886, for "Portrait of Suc & Harry from J.B. Lippincott for privilege of photographing." The publisher apparently paid Eakins the fee for the right to photograph either the actual painting or a black-and-white version of it, which Eakins, knowing the lim-

itations of photographic film at that time, may



86

have painted for this purpose in order to achieve a more accurate reproduction (see no. 22).

Lippincott died in 1886, six years before Eakins painted this portrait. It was commissioned for the family by Lippincott's son Craige, and painted from a photograph. The reverse of the canvas had been inscribed "copied from a photograph" but this is now covered by the relining canvas. This was a type of commission that Eakins did not like to undertake. Although he frequently used photographs as studies for his paintings, in his best work these were supplemented by studio poses, which was of course impossible in the case of a posthumous portrait.

As was his method, Eakins first painted a small oil study on paperboard (12½ by 10 inches), which is now in the Hirshhorn Museum. There is somewhat more vitality in his small study than in the final painting. It seems that when he painted the full-size portrait, Eakins placed layer upon layer of paint on the canvas, apparently unsure of himself and searching for expression, but he succeeded in producing only a mechanically rendered, uninteresting likeness, which reveals, for Eakins's work, an unusually thick paint film.



87 SKETCH FOR "PORTRAIT OF DR. JACOB MENDEZ DA COSTA"

Goodrich 271 About 1893

Oil on canvas (mounted on cardboard)

 $14^{1}/_{2} \times 10^{1}/_{2}'' (36.8 \times 26.7 \text{ cm})$; composition $8^{3}/_{4} \times 7^{1}/_{2}'' (22.2 \times 19.1 \text{ cm})$

Unsigned

Inscribed, lower right, by Mrs. Eakins: Sketch /

T.E.

30-32-16

Gift of Mrs. Thomas Eakins and Miss Mary Adeline Williams

DR. JACOB MENDEZ DA COSTA (1833–1900) was a well-known Philadelphia physician, a professor at Jefferson Medical College and colleague of Dr. Samuel Gross (whom Eakins painted in his *Gross Clinic; see* no. 21), and the author of an important textbook on medical diagnosis.

Goodrich reports that Eakins had painted Da Costa's portrait in 1892, but that it did not meet with the approval of Da Costa and his friends. Goodrich quotes (p. 118) from a letter that Eakins wrote to Da Costa at the time of this incident:

It is, I believe, to your interest and to mine that the painting does remain in its present condition. . . . I do not consider the picture a failure at all, or I should not have parted with it or consented to exhibit it.

As to your friends, I have known some of them whom I esteem greatly to give most injudicious art advice and to admire what was ignorant, ill-constructed, vulgar and bad; and as to the concurrent testimony of the newspapers, which I have not seen, I wonder at your mentioning them after our many conversations regarding them.

I presume my position in art is not second to your own in medicine, and I can hardly imagine myself writing to you a letter like this: Dear Doctor, The concurrent testimony of the newspapers and of friends is that your treatment of my case has not been one of your successes. I therefore suggest that you treat me a while with Mrs. Brown's Metaphysical Discovery.

Yet, in spite of Eakins's strongly expressed opinion that he did not consider the portrait a failure at all, he eventually destroyed it, according to Goodrich, and painted a second portrait of Da Costa, dated 1893 (Goodrich 270), which was given to the Pennsylvania Hospital in Philadelphia by Da Costa's son in 1899.

This is Eakins's sketch for his second portrait of Da Costa. It is painted freely, with stiff bristle brushes of varying widths, and as is usual in Eakins's sketches, the emphasis is on the placement of the figure within the canvas and on the effects of light. Dark paint, representing a picture frame, indicates the edges of the portrait. Eakins did not square this sketch off for enlarging as was frequently his practice, but in preparation for transferring the image to the large canvas he scratched a vertical line through the center of the composition while the paint was still wet.

88 THE AGNEW CLINIC

Photogravure

8³/₁₆ x 11⁹/₁₆ (irregular) (20.8 x 29.4 cm); image

7⁷/₈ x 11⁵/₁₆" (20 x 28.7 cm)

Unsigned

Inscribed in plate, top center margin:

COPYRIGHTED 1893 BY THOMAS EAKINS.

Gift of Dr. Samuel B. Sturgis

73-268-190

The Large Agnew Clinic, on which Eakins had staked his hopes (see no. 71) as he had earlier on The Gross Clinic, did not bring him the acclamation he had anticipated. When the painting was first shown at the Haseltine Galleries in



Philadelphia it elicited little comment. But when Eakins submitted it on request to the annual exhibition at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts in 1891, the Academy's exhibition committee forced the artists' jury to reject it on the technicality that it had already been shown publicly. The fallacy of the rejection was recognized by the critic of The Philadelphia Press who pointed out that "the water-color exhibit has numbers already seen in the art club" (The Philadelphia Press, January 29, 1891). The real reason, according to Goodrich, was that some Academy directors thought that the painting was "not cheerful for ladies to look at" (p. 127). The decision was challenged by Eakins but to no avail.

Eakins therefore looked forward to the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago, an international event scheduled for 1893, which was to include an important art exhibition. Among the paintings he submitted to the regional jury was *The Agnew Clinic*. Since works chosen for the exhibition were shown first in Philadelphia, *The Agnew Clinic* was actually hung in the Academy only two years after it had been rejected for exhibition there.

When he submitted *The Agnew Clinic* to the Chicago exposition, Eakins decided to publish a reproduction of it, much as he had published a reproduction of his *Gross Clinic* (no. 23) at the time of the Centennial exhibition. In 1876, he had felt it necessary to paint a black-and-white version of *The Gross Clinic* because the photographic process at that time made warm colors too dark and cold colors too light, thus falsify-

ing the tonal values of paintings. By 1893 this technical deficiency had been overcome. The new orthochromatic film made possible the reproduction of colors with their proper gray values, and beautiful results could be obtained through photography alone.

Eakins's photogravure reproduction of *The Agnew Clinic* is indeed a beautiful print. Its extraordinary quality suggests that it may have been made abroad. Nothing is known about the production of this print, which is now extremely rare, except that Eakins copyrighted the reproduction with the United States Copyright Office under Class H: Reproduction of works of art. It is listed under registration number 5471: "'Dr. Agnew by Thomas Eakins,' engraving. Claimant Eakins 22 January 1894."

Editor's Note: A second, larger reproduction of The Agnew Clinic, inscribed "To Dr. Fenton from his friend the painter Thomas Eakins" has recently been given to the Museum (Appendix A, no. 2).



89 PORTRAIT OF BENJAMIN EAKINS

Goodrich 324 About 1894 Oil on canvas 24¹/₈ x 20" (61.3 x 50.8 cm) Unsigned Gift of Mrs. Thomas Eakins and Miss Mary Adeline Williams 29-184-36

THOMAS EAKINS was especially close to his father Benjamin, a writing master (see no. 50), who appears in a number of his paintings. In 1894, when Eakins probably painted this portrait, Benjamin had been a widower for twenty-two years. Twelve years earlier, his middle daughter Margaret had died. Then, in 1886, his youngest daughter Caroline broke off all relations with her brother Tom because her husband George Frank Stephens, a pupil of Eakins, bitterly opposed his former teacher during the Academy crisis that led to Eakins's resignation (see no. 73). Caroline had died in 1889, but there was still his oldest daughter Frances Crowell, who owned the farm in Avondale, Pennsylvania, that both Tom and his father frequently visited. But even this happy relationship came to a tragic end in 1897. On July 2 of that year, Frances's daughter Ella, at the age of twenty-three, shot and killed herself. Frances's husband blamed his daughter's tragedy on Eakins and forbade him to visit their farm again. One wonders how Benjamin Eakins, now in his late seventies, was able to

face these events, yet from all reports he kept a sober mind and, according to Schendler, was a source of strength and emotional stability in the family (p. 165). His son and daughter-in-law lived with him until the end of his life.

Goodrich thought that this portrait was painted about 1899, shortly before the sitter's death. However, Samuel Murray sculpted a bust portrait of Benjamin Eakins that is closely related to this portrait, and Murray's work is dated 1894. Since Murray's sculptures almost always followed Eakins's portraits, or, occasionally, were modeled at the time Eakins painted the subject (see no. 75), but never predate them, we assume that Eakins's portrait was painted in 1894 or earlier. A label on the stretcher of this painting, in the handwriting of Mrs. Eakins, reads: "Portrait Benjamin Eakins painted bet. 1890 & 1897 by his son Thomas Eakins."

90 PORTRAIT OF MRS. FRANK HAMILTON CUSHING

Goodrich 275
1895
Oil on canvas (rebacked)
26³/₁₆ x 22" (66.5 x 55.9 cm)
Unsigned
Inscribed, lower right, by Mrs. Eakins: T.E.
Gift of Mrs. Thomas Eakins and
Miss Mary Adeline Williams
29-184-4

Frank Hamilton Cushing, the husband of the woman portrayed here, was a highly respected ethnologist and a pioneer in the study of the American Indian. He had lived among the Zuñi Indians of New Mexico and had been adopted as a member of their tribe. Exactly how Eakins and Cushing met is not known, but Hendricks quotes a letter from Eakins to Cushing (*Life*, p. 228) that indicates that the two men knew each other well. In this letter, which is dated July 14, 1895, Eakins invited Cushing to stay at his house and pose for a full-size portrait (Goodrich 273; Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art, Tulsa).

Eakins painted his portrait of Mrs. Cushing (1860–1920)* at the same time he painted her husband, in the fall of 1895. Both portraits were shown in his one-man exhibition at the Earles' Galleries as reported by the *Daily Evening Telegraph* on May 16, 1896: "The most conspicuous

*Biographical information on Mrs. Cushing was kindly supplied by Dr. Jesse D. Green, Chicago State University



canvas is the full-length, life-size portrait of Lieutenant Frank Cushing, painted last autumn. . . . A half-length portrait of Mrs. Cushing is also shown, unfinished, the work evidently having been suspended after the first or second sitting."

Born Emily Tennison Magill, she had married Cushing in Washington, D.C., on July 10, 1882, during his return trip to the East. Although one of the reasons he came back East had been to avoid marriage with an importunate Zuñi maiden, his Zuñi traveling companions were completely taken with his betrothed and said he could not return without her. Soon after, they were married, and Mrs. Cushing traveled with her sister and her husband to New Mexico, where she remained until 1884. In 1887 she and her sister served as curators in charge of specimens for the Hemenway Southwestern Archaeological Expedition led by Cushing to the Salt River Valley in Arizona. In December 1895 the Cushings embarked on the Pepper-Hearst expedition to explore ancient key-dweller remains on the Gulf coast of Florida. Mrs. Cushing apparently had become accomplished in the restoration of Indian artifacts, according to an article about her work in Florida in The Washington Post (February 3,1896): "Probably the busiest of the party was Mrs. Cushing, who was employed in matching the various fragments of pottery, and it is to her

aptness in this line that the Smithsonian In-

stitution will owe its gratitude for some very choice and interesting pieces of pottery, which this persevering little woman has built up piece by piece and cemented together, so that they now stand as originally made."

The reduced scale of the figure of Mrs. Cushing is unusual in Eakins portraiture for usually his subjects are approximately life size. X-rays of this painting reveal that Eakins worked hard to define the figure correctly. During this intensive search for form, the face and hands gradually were shifted downward and to the right. Marceau, in his catalogue (p. 23, no. 107), listed a sketch for this portrait, oil on canvas, 24 by 16 inches, then owned by Mrs. Eakins, which is now unlocated.

91 PORTRAIT OF MRS. ELIZABETH DUANE GILLESPIE

Goodrich 351
About 1895 (unfinished)
Oil on canvas (rebacked)
45¹/₈ x 30" (114.6 x 76.2 cm)
Unsigned
Inscribed, on reverse, in unknown hand:
UNFINISHED PORTRAIT / MRS. E. D. GILLESPIE / BY
THOMAS EAKINS / PRESENTED BY HIM TO THE /
PENNSYLVANIA SCHOOL OF / INDUSTRIAL ART,

Women's Committee of the Philadelphia Museum of Art

ELIZABETH DUANE GILLESPIE (1821–1901) Was an exceptional woman, socially prominent, active in many worthy causes, and, as this likeness suggests, also very determined. Among her many projects was the Women's Centennial Executive Committee, which, as early as February 1873, started to prepare for the celebration of the nation's one hundredth anniversary. Her committee commissioned Richard Wagner to compose a grand march for the Centennial, and it managed to collect significant amounts of money for a Women's Pavilion at the exhibition. Although it was a social success, the Women's Pavilion left some contemporary critics perplexed: "Those accustomed to think of women as the wives, mothers, and sisters of men will be puzzled to know why the ladies wished to separate their work from that of the rest of the human race," wrote William Dean Howells. "Why not a 'Man's Pavilion' too?" (quoted in William Peirce Randel, Centennial: American Life in 1876, New York, 1969, p. 297). But Mrs. Gillespie had already responded to such an argument in a speech she had given while touring the country raising funds for the Pavilion: "I am glad to be here and very glad to



see so many who, if mankind are called the bone and sinew, are the no less valuable part of humanity, the tissue and nerves. That is the part you play, and as much depends on you as the men" (quoted in Dee Brown, *The Year of the Century: 1876*, New York, 1966, p. 140). There was also some grumbling within Mrs. Gillespie's own ranks. Wrote one of her colleagues: "She is a woman of great talent but it did not take long for those who had business with her to find out that she was dictatorial and disagreeable" (quoted in Hendricks, *Life*, p. 251).

After the Centennial, Mrs. Gillespie continued her civic activities. She was one of the founders of the National Society of Colonial Dames of America, and a life member of the Daughters of the American Revolution. In 1883, she founded the Associate Committee of Women (now the Women's Committee) of the Pennsylvania Museum and School of Industrial Art (now separate institutions, the Philadelphia Museum of Art and the Philadelphia College of Art), the institution that was established as the legacy of the Centennial Exposition and housed in the art gallery, Memorial Hall.

It is not known whether Eakins had been commissioned to paint Mrs. Gillespie's portrait, which is possible, or if he simply asked her to pose because she was an individual of extraordinary character, which seems more likely. Leslie Miller, principal of the School of Industrial Art, later told Goodrich that the portrait was intended for the school.

Eakins first painted a fairly large (24 by 20 inches) oil sketch for this portrait (Goodrich 352; Hirshhorn Museum). Then he squared it off and enlarged the figure as he transferred it to the final canvas. Mrs. Gillespie must have posed for Eakins repeatedly until, according to Leslie Miller, an incident occurred that prevented the portrait from being finished: "Mrs. Gillespie refused to go near him [Eakins] again after he received her one blistering hot day in his studio up three or four flights of stairs, dressed only in an old pair of trousers and an undershirt. He wanted her to give him one or two more sittings, but she not only refused them, but wanted me to destroy the portrait after it came into my possession—which of course I didn't do" (quoted in Goodrich, pp. 192-93).

Eakins scholars have generally accepted a date of about 1901 for the portrait of Mrs. Gillespie, but this must surely be an error. The 1901 date is taken from the inscription on the back of the canvas. The inscription is not in Eakins's hand, but since it is on the back of a lining canvas, it is probably the restorer's copy of an inscription on the back of the original canvas. The original may have been by Eakins, yet the date surely refers to the year of the gift, not the year he painted it. In the late fall of 1901 it was safe for Eakins to give the painting to the school because Mrs. Gillespie, who had wanted the portrait destroyed, had died on October 13, 1901. The portrait subsequently became the property of Mrs. Gillespie's Women's Committee.

Eakins was undoubtedly fascinated by Mrs. Gillespie's strong personality, by her wrinkled skin, and by her vivid dark eyes. The incident that so infuriated her could have been easily avoided with just a slight effort on Eakins's part. He also could have finished the portrait without additional sittings, for all the essential features are already there. But Eakins was as determined in his own way as Mrs. Gillespie was in hers, and this unfinished portrait thus remains as a monument to two very strong and determined personalities.

Editor's Note: The following excerpts from recently discovered documentation in the Philadelphia Museum of Art Archives shed additional light on circumstances surrounding the interruption of sittings and the subsequent gift of the painting.

From the Minutes of the Committee on Instruction,

March 7, 1901:

"The following communication from Thomas Eakins was presented and read—

> 1729 Mount Vernon Street, Philadelphia February 27

Mr. Leslie W. Miller, Dear Sir—

Some years ago I painted a portrait of Mrs. Gillespie. Although never finished, it is still I think a valuable likeness of that noble woman, and as such I would like to give it to your school, the institution which owes so much to her energy and wise benevolence.

Will you kindly bring my offer to the attention of Mr. Theodore C. Search . . .

Yours truly,

(Signed) Thomas Eakins.

On motion of Mr. Jenks, seconded by Mr. Dana the portrait was unanimously accepted, and the thanks of the Committee tendered to Mr. Eakins.

On motion of Mr. Jenks, seconded by Mr. Dana Mrs. Gillespie was requested to give Mr. Eakins a few more sittings to enable him to finish the portrait of her which he has presented to the School."

Copy of Letter from Leslie W. Miller to Theodore C. Search, March 1, 1901:

"I enclose a copy of a letter which I have received from Thomas Eakins, the artist, offering to present to the school his portrait of Mrs. Gillespie. I have replied to Mr. Eakins, that I have referred his communication to you, and that I felt sure of the offer being brought to the attention of the Committee on Instruction at its next meeting, moreover, anticipating favorable action on his very generous offer, I have assured him in advance of the grateful appreciation of the Committee.

Mr. Eakins is certainly one of the strongest painters we have. I examined the work in question, and regard it as a faithful likeness. The picture will be valuable as a reminder for all time of the devoted and efficient service Mrs. Gillespie has so long rendered." Copy of Letter from Leslie W. Miller to Mrs. E. D. Gillespie, March 20, 1901:

"At the last meeting of the Instruction Committee a communication from Mr. Eakins was presented, offering to present to the School the portrait of you which he painted a few years ago. It was never finished as you know, but was sufficiently advanced so that he felt like presenting it to the school in the hope that you would give him a few more sittings.

The portrait was accepted by the Committee, and its thanks tendered to Mr. Eakins for the gift, and I was by resolution instructed to ask you in the name of the committee whether you would not be willing to give Mr. Eakins a few more sittings to enable him to finish it.

You were ill at the time, which is my reason for having refrained from speaking of the matter to you before. The picture certainly has a great deal of merit, and I beg to supplement to Committee's action by expressing on my account the hope that you will be able to give the sittings necessary to enable Mr. Eakins to carry to a satisfactory completion what will certainly be a most valuable present to the School."

Copy of Letter from Leslie W. Miller to Mrs. E. D. Gillespie, March 22, 1901:

"Replying to yours of yesterday I can best answer it by sending you a copy of the minutes of the last meeting of the Committee on Instruction, which, fortunately, I had made at the time the minutes were written up, it need not be returned to me.

I am sorry you feel as you do about the portrait, and of course neither the Committee nor I knew anything about its history except what was contained in Mr. Eakins' letter which is, you will see, copied in full in the minutes. In accordance with the request contained in the letter itself, I referred it to Mr. Search, whose answer to my communication was as follows—. . .

I have your favor of the 1st and also copy of letter from Mr. Thomas Eakins, offering to present to the school his portrait of Mrs. Gillespie. I think this will be a most desirable presentation, and one for which we will all be exceedingly thankful to Mr. Eakins. It inaugurates the idea of similar propositions for those who have been active in the work of the School and I am sure we will not refuse Mr. Eakins valuable offer. If you will kindly present my pleasure at receiving such a valuable gift to him, I will be obliged to you.

Regretting the misunderstanding which has occurred, and the annoyance which I now see you have suffered."



DODGE Goodrich 293 1896 Oil on canvas (rebacked) 24¹/₈ x 20¹/₈" (61.3 x 51.1 cm)

92 PORTRAIT OF MRS. JAMES MAPES

Signed and inscribed, lower right: EAKINS 96 / to his friend / JAMES M. DODGE

Gift of Mrs. James Mapes Dodge 51-79-1

THE DODGES, James Mapes Dodge and his wife, the former Josephine Kern (1857–1953), were good friends of Eakins and Samuel Murray. James Dodge, son of Mabel Mapes Dodge, the author of *Hans Brinker* and editor of *St. Nicholas Magazine*, was an engineer and an amateur photographer of note; later he was also a director of the Philadelphia School of Design for Women (now Moore College of Art).

McHenry reports (pp. 114–15) that Eakins and Murray bicycled frequently to the Dodges' large house on McKean Avenue in Germantown for Sunday dinner, but that Mrs. Eakins never went there. Every Sunday there were dinner guests at their house, sometimes fifteen to eighteen people, generally members of Philadelphia's artistic circles. Mrs. Dodge would sing and her husband might tell stories, which, according to McHenry, he did very well.

In 1896, Eakins decided to paint Josephine Dodge in the evening dress she had worn at Grover Cleveland's inaugural ball in Washington. This would have been the inauguration of Cleveland's second term, in March 1893. In 1950, Mrs. Dodge, then ninety-three years old, gave this dress to the Philadelphia Museum of Art, where it is preserved in the costume collection (Appendix A, no. 45).

According to McHenry, who interviewed Mrs. Dodge in the 1940s, Eakins painted her by a long window in her front parlor. Mrs. Dodge remembered Eakins thumping her chest in an effort to get the exact location of her bones, and recalled that she sat for what seemed forty hours. The portrait was done shortly after her daughter Josephine was born on December 22, 1895. Samuel Murray also did a bust portrait of Mrs. Dodge, which he exhibited in 1906.

According to Henri Marceau's catalogue (p. 23, no. 116), Eakins also painted Mrs. Dodge's husband, whom he listed as James C. Dodge; but Goodrich does not list such a portrait. Murray also did a full-length statuette of Dodge, as well as portraits of many of the Dodge children. Several years later, Eakins painted the Dodges' son Kern as *The Young Man* (no. 95).

93 PORTRAIT OF A LITTLE GIRL

Goodrich 437

About 1895–1900
Oil on canvas (rebacked)
16¹/₈ x 12¹/₈" (41 x 30.8 cm)
Unsigned
Inscribed, lower right, by Mrs. Eakins: EAKINS
The Louis E. Stern Collection
63-181-25

GORDON HENDRICKS (*Life*, p. 342, no. 262) identifies the child in this portrait as Eakins's niece Ella Crowell, whom he had painted in 1876 as *Baby at Play* (Goodrich 99; collection of John Hay Whitney). Based on this identification and because the child in the portrait looks about six years old, Hendricks dated this painting about 1880.

Hendricks's identification presents several problems. Eakins painted few portraits around 1880, but the few that are known—two portraits of Gen. George Cadwalader (Goodrich 138, Butler Institute of American Art, Youngstown, Ohio; and Goodrich 139, Mutual Assurance Company, Philadelphia) and the portrait of the artist's father, *The Writing Master*, dated 1882 (see no. 50)—are stylistically quite different from this painting. By studying the brushstrokes of this work, it can be demonstrated that they relate most closely to Eakins's paintings dating about 1895, or somewhat later.



It is also difficult to believe that Mrs. Eakins, who owned the painting in the 1930s, would not have recognized a portrait of her niece, whom she had known so well. But she in fact must not have recognized the subject of this painting because Burroughs (p. 332), Marceau (p. 29, no. 259), and Goodrich, all of whom depended on Mrs. Eakins for titles and identification of sitters, noted that this painting was in Mrs. Eakins's collection, but did not identify the sitter.

An alternative identification of this child may be sought within the Dodge family (see no. 92), of whom Eakins painted several portraits about this time. In 1900, Samuel Murray made a full-length statuette of the four-year-old Josephine Dodge, which was illustrated in an unidentified newspaper clipping in a Murray scrapbook (Hirshhorn Museum). Since Murray and Eakins often treated the same subjects, it is possible that this may be a portrait of the little Dodge child, Josephine.

This painting was still owned by Mrs. Eakins and Miss Williams at the time they presented the Thomas Eakins Collection to the Museum. The painting had been cut down from a larger size and had also been extensively retouched. The donor, Louis E. Stern, purchased the portrait from the Babcock Gallery in New York. Upon his death, it came to the Philadelphia Museum of Art with his collection.

94 JENNIE DEAN KERSHAW (MRS. SAMUEL MURRAY)

Hendricks 228 About 1897 Photograph (cyanotype) $4^{3}/_{16} \times 3^{9}/_{16}$ " (10.6 x 9 cm) Unsigned Gift of Seymour Adelman 68-203-3

IN 1897, when Eakins probably took this photograph, Jennie Dean Kershaw (1866–1952) was the actuary at the Philadelphia School of Design for Women (now Moore College of Art), where from 1888 to 1895, she had been teacher of perspective and the projection of shadows. She was engaged to the sculptor Samuel Murray (see no. 75), who had been teaching at the school since spring 1891. Their engagement was to be a very long one; indeed, it was only some twenty years later, in March 1916, that Jennie Kershaw finally became Mrs. Samuel Murray.

In 1897, according to McHenry (p. 101), Murray took his fiancée to pose for a portrait by Eakins, a three-quarter-length painting, which was never finished (Goodrich 297; University of Nebraska Art Galleries). Eakins also painted a smaller portrait of her, head and bust only, which is also not completely finished (Goodrich 298; Baltimore Museum of Art). Both portraits were probably painted about the same time, since she is shown wearing the same dress.



In Eakins's photograph, she appears quite like she does in the paintings, and thus we have ascribed to it a date of about 1897. Eakins must have been fascinated by her large and intense eyes and by her expressive face, and he was able to convey through the photographic medium the same intensity that he sought to capture in the two portraits. The four other Eakins photographs of Jennie Kershaw that are known (Hendricks 224–27) were taken at Eakins's Chestnut Street studio, which he shared with Murray at the time, and were probably intended as studies for the paintings. The Museum's photograph is quite different, however, and was probably taken elsewhere, possibly at the Philadelphia School of Design for Women.

95 THE YOUNG MAN (PORTRAIT OF KERN DODGE) Goodrich 368 About 1898–1902 (unfinished) Oil on canvas 45³/₁₆ x 26¹/₈" (114.8 x 66.4 cm) Unsigned

Gift of Mrs. Thomas Eakins and Miss Mary Adeline Williams 29-184-21

In 1896, Eakins painted a portrait of Mrs. James Mapes Dodge (no. 92), and a few years later he began to paint her son Kern Dodge (1880–1958), a picture he never completed because, according to McHenry, he "got too busy to pose" (p. 115). Somewhat later, Eakins painted two portraits of Kern Dodge's wife, the former Helen Peterson Greene (Goodrich 398 and 399; private collections), presumably after their marriage in November 1904.

Because Eakins did not completely finish this painting, one can readily study the artist's procedure of portrait painting during his late period. He finished the face and collar in some detail, using only earth colors, white, black, and red; the minute flecks of vermilion on the forehead, bridge of the nose, and mouth create a lifelike vibrancy. But where the sitter's shirt and tie should be, the canvas was left bare. In this area one can see faint pencil lines, which suggest that the artist had painted a sketch first, and that he then drew the shapes with pencil on the large canvas. No sketch is known to have survived. Eakins then blocked in the jacket and trousers with a wide brush. He painted the background around this bulk with brown oil paint, which had been much diluted with tur-



95

pentine. A turpentine drip in the lower-right corner caused the background color to run down. X-rays reveal that in painting Kern Dodge's face, Eakins gradually pushed the profile forward and enlarged the chin. One can almost see Dodge becoming more and more impatient with posing, and Eakins altering the portrait as his expression changed.

Goodrich dated this portrait about 1902. Since Samuel Murray sculpted a bust portrait of Kern Dodge that was first exhibited in 1898, we have entertained the possibility that Eakins painted Dodge as early as 1898, a suggestion that is supported by the quite youthful appearance of the sitter, as well as by the title of the painting. If, however, the 1902 date is correct, it would be the only known example of a Murray sculpture preceding an Eakins painting of the same subject (see no. 75).



96 BILLY SMITH (SKETCH FOR "BETWEEN ROUNDS")

Goodrich 314 About 1898 Oil on canvas (rebacked) 20 x 16" (50.8 x 40.6 cm) Unsigned Gift of Mrs. Thomas Eakins and Miss Mary Adeline Williams 29-184-17

In the late 1890s, more than a decade after he had painted *The Swimming Hole* (fig. 4; Goodrich 190), Eakins concentrated on sport again as a motif for his paintings. Now his interest focused on the sweaty, masculine, indoor sports

of boxing and wrestling.

It is known from a letter Eakins wrote to his father from Paris in 1866 that boxing and wrestling were not new to him: "Max Schmitt taught me a little about boxing," he wrote then, and "there has been wrestling most every day, and we have had three pairs all stripped at once, and we see some anatomy" (quoted in Goodrich, p. 13). Later, in 1883, he had made photos of his students boxing and wrestling when he was doing preparatory studies for *The Swimming Hole*. Yet surprisingly, boxing or wrestling had never been the subject of any of his paintings before this.

It may have been pure chance that one day, possibly in 1897 or 1898, Samuel Murray took

Eakins to the Philadelphia Arena to watch a prize fight. He was fascinated, and soon the two friends were attending several fights a week. Eakins met Clarence Cranmer, a sportswriter, who knew most of the fighters and introduced Eakins to them. One of the most personable was Billy Smith, the subject of this sketch for the painting Between Rounds (no. 97). Much later, on August 15, 1940, Smith wrote that "it was 1898, when Mr Eakins came to a Boxing Club, to get a modle for his first (fight) picture, titled, Between rounds. He chose Me. . . . I boxed over 100 times made a living at it for ten years, in My time I fought two Feather weight champions Tommy Warren, and Terry McGovern, and Harry Forbes of Chicago, who won the Bantam weight championship in think in 1901. I was known then as Turkey Point Billy Smith" (letter to Walker Galleries, New York, photostat, PMA Archives).

Another study of Billy Smith for Between Rounds (Goodrich 315; Wichita Art Museum) is inscribed: "Billy Smith from his friend Thomas Eakins 1898." Since we assume that the Museum's sketch was painted at about the same time, we have dated the sketch about 1898, al-

though Between Rounds is dated 1899.

X-rays of the sketch of Billy Smith reveal that the fighter posed nude at first, and that Eakins added his gray trunks only later (Appendix B, fig. 8). They also show that Eakins changed the position of Smith's arms, which at first were higher. In the final painting, Eakins added boxing gloves, but otherwise showed Smith much as he appears here. However, he was not able to repeat the wonderful expression on Smith's face that he captured so successfully in the quick sketch.

Billy Smith also appears in another of Eakins's boxing subjects, *Salutat*, dated 1898 (Goodrich 310; Addison Gallery of American

Art, Andover, Mass.).



7 BETWEEN ROUNDS
Goodrich 312
1899
Oil on canvas (rebacked)
50¹/₈ × 39⁷/₈" (127.3 × 101.3 cm)
Signed, lower right, in shaded part of platform:
EAKINS, 99.
Gift of Mrs. Thomas Eakins and
Miss Mary Adeline Williams
29-184-16

Although Billy Smith said that Between Rounds was Eakins's first boxing picture (see no. 96), it was actually his last one, coming after Salutat (Goodrich 310; Addison Gallery of American Art, Andover, Mass.) and Taking the Count (Goodrich 303; Yale University Art Gallery).

The scene of Between Rounds is the Philadelphia Arena, which stood at the intersection of Broad and Cherry streets, diagonally across from the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts. Between Rounds shows the fight between Billy Smith and Tim Callahan that took place there on April 22, 1898. Smith, who lost to Callahan, is shown resting in the corner of the ring, completely relaxed, yet ready to jump forward at the sound of the bell. His opponent is not in the painting at all. It is interesting to note that in his boxing pictures, Eakins never did portray the actual combat between two fighters. The timer, in the left foreground, is actually the sportswriter Clarence Cranmer, of whom Eakins painted a separate study entitled The Timer (Goodrich 316; private collection). It was Cranmer who had introduced Smith and the other fighters to Eakins and who also helped him with his wrestling pictures (see no. 98). The attendant standing behind Smith is, according to Goodrich, Ellwood McCloskey, "The Old War Horse," whose name appears on the large yellow poster near the upper-left corner. The man waving the towel was identified by Goodrich as Billy McCarney.

At left is the press box, occupied by five reporters, who look as if they had been portrayed from life. The identity of only one of them has been discovered. The gentleman to the right of the number 2, holding a sketch pad, is Louis William Ulrich who at that time, according to his son, was a sketch artist for a New York newspaper. The spectators, both in the balcony and in the rows behind the ring, appear to be portraits also. It has been suggested that the bearded old man in the first row of the balcony represents Walt Whitman, a great sports lover. If so, this would have been Eakins's posthumous tribute to Whitman, who had died six years earlier. Goodrich reports that when

Eakins was working on large, crowded compositions such as *Between Rounds* he often told a chance visitor to "stay a while and I'll put you in" (p. 98). Such occurrences may well account for many of the background portraits in this painting.

Eakins may have worked for a long time on *Between Rounds*. Goodrich calls this painting one of Eakins's most "unified designs" (p. 152) and speculates that Eakins may have realized the "incompleteness" of *Taking the Count* and improved upon this theme in *Between Rounds*.

The painting was exhibited first at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts in 1900.

98 WRESTLERS

Goodrich 319 1899 (unfinished) Oil on canvas (rebacked) 40 × 50¹/₁₆" (101.6 × 127.2) Unsigned Bequest of Fiske and Marie Kimball 55-86-14

Following HIS BOXING PAINTINGS (see nos. 96 and 97), Eakins worked on a scene of wrestlers, and Samuel Murray made a small sculpture with the same theme. Murray's sculpture is dated 1899, as is an alternate version that Eakins painted of this subject.

The newspaper writer Clarence Cranmer again helped Eakins with these paintings. On August 29, 1931, Cranmer quoted from a letter that Eakins wrote him on May 19, 1899: "I am going to start the wrestling picture on Monday at half past two. I wish you could find it convenient to be at the studio and help us with advice as to positions and so forth" (letter to Fiske Kimball, August 29, 1931, PMA Archives). Cranmer was indeed there. In a later letter he explained: "Joseph McCann is the man on top—being a [boxing] champion I had to pose him in the winning position, with a half nelson and crotch hold. . . . Tho not a champion wrestler, he was a very good one and a fine, most modest upstanding chap as well" (letter to Fiske Kimball, April 23, 1935, PMA Archives).

Eakins took a photograph of the two men wrestling (Hendricks 229), which is so similar to the painting that one must assume the canvas was painted directly from the photograph, using the squaring lines, which can still be seen on the canvas at twelve inch intervals, as an aid in enlarging the small print. He then apparently abandoned this picture before it was finished and did an oil sketch (Goodrich 318; Los



Angeles County Museum of Art) and then a finished second version (Goodrich 317). In the finished painting he included the legs of two spectators at right and another athlete using a rowing machine in the background. Eakins donated this painting to the National Academy of Design in New York in 1902 as a condition of his being elected a National Academician. Recently it was purchased by the Columbus (Ohio) Gallery of Fine Arts.

The unfinished version remained in Eakins's studio and was not exhibited until after his death. It was the exhibition of this painting at the Sesqui-Centennial International Exposition in Philadelphia in 1926 that was to prove so crucial to the future of the Thomas Eakins Collection, according to Fiske Kimball's unpublished reminiscences, written years later:

At the Sesquicentennial in 1926 there was a big room devoted to Eakins. In the place of honor was the big Wrestlers. I went to see Cranmer, who was the dealer for the Eakins pictures and said I would like to own an Eakins myself, particularly The Wrestlers. He said he believed it could be had very reasonably. On my asking why, he said it was unfinished, had not been included in the first memorial shows after Eakins' death and had consequently been valued low. He said he would find out the price. It was \$400. I

bought it and by Christmas 1926 it was hanging in the library at Lemon Hill.

Later, when people asked Mrs. Eakins how she happened to give the collection to our Museum she said "Other museum directors came and admired the pictures, Mr. Kimball came and bought one."

99 PORTRAIT OF DR. EDWARD J. NOLAN

Goodrich 344 About 1900 Oil on canvas (rebacked) 24 x 20" (61 x 50.8 cm) Signed, lower right: EAKINS Gift of Mrs. Thomas Eakins and Miss Mary Adeline Williams 29-184-2

DR. EDWARD J. NOLAN (1847–1921) was a physician, a prominent member of the Art Club, and, for many years, librarian and recording secretary of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia. On May 1, 1894, Eakins addressed the Academy of Natural Sciences on the subject of "The Differential Action of Certain Muscles Passing More than One Joint" (The Proceedings of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia, 1894), at which Dr. Nolan, as recording secretary, took the minutes. The lecture was concerned with the anatomy



of horses' legs and was illustrated with lantern slides of photographs, which Eakins may have taken as early as 1884 (see Hendricks, figs. 119–21). In the minutes, Nolan noted that Eakins also illustrated his talk with drawings and models, and that, according to Gen. Isaac J. Wistar, president of the Society, "Eakins contradicted no anatomical facts but merely explained further the mutual action of parts" (McHenry, p. 140).

It has been suggested that sinee Eakins had considerable contact with Dr. Nolan when he prepared his paper for the Aeademy of Natural Sciences, the portrait of Dr. Nolan may date from 1894 (Hendrieks, *Life*, pp. 226; 346, no. 302). However, this date is not possible, for it can be proved on the basis of the label on the back of the painting that the portrait must have been painted after 1895. Eakins usually purehased his canvases already primed and stretched by an art supply dealer, generally F. Weber and Company of Philadelphia, and many of Eakins's paintings still bear Weber's label on the back of the streteher. The label on the portrait of Dr. Nolan includes the address of Weber's branch in St. Louis as 709 Locust Street. It is known, however, that the branch in St. Louis was located at 918 Olive Street until at least December 1895, and only afterward did it move to 700 Locust Street, the location listed on the label. This, therefore, gives us a date before which Eakins could not have purchased the canvas, and shows that the portrait of Dr. Nolan could not have been painted before December 1895. It is here dated about 1900, the same date given by Goodrieh. Samuel Murray later made a small sculpture of the whole figure of Dr. Nolan, dated 1909, a cast of which is in the Philadelphia Museum of Art.

In painting Dr. Nolan, Eakins seems to have been particularly interested in the doctor's pinee-nez glasses. He faithfully painted the reflections of the studio window on the lenses and showed the slight distortions of the sitter's eyes as seen through them. It is in this area that we observe the most precise brushwork of the whole painting.

It is not known why this painting did not go to Dr. Nolan but remained in Eakins's possession, and there are no records that Eakins exhibited it during his lifetime. It was first shown publicly at the Eakins memorial exhibition at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts in December 1917.

100 PORTRAIT OF MRS. WILLIAM D. FRISHMUTH (ANTIQUATED MUSIC)
Goodrich 338
1900
Oil on canvas (rebacked)
97 x 72" (246.4 x 182.9 cm)
Signed, on lute, lower right: EAKINS. 1900.
Gift of Mrs. Thomas Eakins and
Miss Mary Adeline Williams
29-184-7

EAKINS'S PORTRAIT of Mrs. Frishmuth was painted at the turn of the century, beginning a period of increased activity during which Eakins painted some of his best portraits, among them *The Thinker*, dated 1900 (fig. 8; Goodrieh 331), the *Portrait of Leslie W. Miller* (no. 103), and *An Actress* (no. 105). His painting style by this time had become very sure: his brushwork was economical, and though his compositions were simple and his tonalities remained dark, there is a solidity and a power in the best Eakins portraits of this period that are unmatched by any other artist of his time.

Sarah Emma Sagehorn Frishmuth (1842–1926), the widow of William Daniel Frishmuth, a tobaeeo manufacturer, was a determined Philadelphian obsessed with the urge to collect. Among the items she collected were eolonial tools, early American artifacts, textiles, and samplers—her "Colonial Relics"—many of

which she gave to the Pennsylvania Museum, now the Philadelphia Museum of Art. But above all, even though she did not sing or play an instrument, Mrs. Frishmuth was in love wth beautiful old instruments, which she eolleeted in even greater quantities. From 1902 to 1926 she was honorary curator of the department of musical instruments at the Pennsylvania Museum of Art. In 1897 she gave some 500 musical instruments to the Free Museum of Seience and Art at the University of Pennsylvania (now the University Museum), and by 1900 her gift had grown to about 1100 items.

Eakins was undoubtedly fascinated by Mrs. Frishmuth and asked her to pose for him with her eollection. Mrs. Frishmuth agreed, and Eakins created a portrait which, in size, is surpassed only by his Gross Clinic and his Agnew Clinic. She is posed in the center of a grand arrangement of her collection, an imposing dark pyramid topped by icy blue eyes above a bright blue neck cloth. No sketches are known for this painting, and there are none of the visible signs found in many of Eakins's compositions indicating that the canvas was squared off to aid in transferring the figure from a sketch. But the composition was undoubtedly most earefully calculated and thus, knowing Eakins's working methods, one would expect that it was developed in a preliminary study.

McHenry reports that Mrs. Frishmuth posed for the portrait in Eakins's studio (p. 121). This is, in fact, not so. One ean tell from the painting that the sitter faced three small, relatively square windows because Eakins painted their reflections in her eyes, on her forehead, on the brass knob of a hurdy-gurdy erank, and on the upturned lute that bears the artist's signature. However, Eakins's studio did not have such windows. Where she posed is, of eourse, not of great importance. Probably it was in the top floor of her house at 1712 Areh Street, where some of her eollection may have been stored. But the significance is in Eakins's power of observation and his insistence in painting such facts exactly as they appeared even though, by this period of his eareer, he was no longer concerned with trompe l'oeil details.

Various efforts have been made to identify the instruments from all parts of the world shown in the portrait of Mrs. Frishmuth (see Hendricks, Life, pp. 246–247; Synnove Haughom, "Thomas Eakins' Portrait of Mrs. William D. Frishmuth, Collector," Antiques, vol. 104, no. 5, November 1973, pp. 836–38; and the University Museum Archives). They

are treated more loosely and more painterly than the sitter, and in the foreground some are actually blurred. There are no hard, mechanically incised lines as were found on the guitar in *Home Ranch* (no. 83), painted eight years earlier.

Eakins's original title for this painting was Antiquated Music, which is how it was listed in the catalogue of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts annual exhibition of 1901, where it was shown for the first time and listed as lent by Mrs. Frishmuth. Eakins himself then lent the painting to the archaeological department of the University of Pennsylvania, and it was hung in the Museum with Mrs. Frishmuth's eollection of musical instruments. On May 15, 1901, he wrote to the eurator of ethnology, Stewart Culin: "I should be delighted to have Mrs. Frishmuth's portrait in the Museum, so I beg you to put it there" (University Museum Archives). Eakins withdrew it in October 1904 for exhibition at the Carnegie International Exhibition in Pittsburgh. When he wished to withdraw it again in December 1906 to submit it to the winter exhibition of the National Academy of Design, he was told that if he took the painting out, he could not bring it back again. This is exactly what Eakins did and the reason the painting is now at the Philadelphia Museum of Art and not at the University Museum.

Editor's Note: The following letter from Leslie Miller to Thomas Eakins, dated February 11, 1901, has recently been discovered, confirming Mr. Siegl's supposition that this composition was developed in preliminary drawings: "Replying to yours of February 1st, I thank you very much for the gift of the set of perspective drawings you made in connection with the Frishmuth portrait. I shall take pleasure in showing them to such students as are likely to understand and appreciate the lessons which they embody" (PMA Archives).





101 PORTRAFT OF MARY ADELINE WILLIAMS (ADDIE) Goodrich 333 About 1900 Oil on canvas (rebacked) 24^{1/8} x 18^{1/8}" (61.3 x 46 cm) Unsigned

Gift of Mrs. Thomas Eakins and Miss Mary Adeline Williams 29-184-10

Most of the information that we have about Mary Adeline Williams, who was known as Addie, was gathered by McHenry in conversations with Samuel Murray, Charles Bregler, and other friends of Eakins. Addie was born September 3, 1853, on a farm near Fairton, New Jersey, but went to school in Philadelphia where she became friends with Eakins's sister Margaret (see no. 7). She was related to Will Crowell, Eakins's high school friend, who later became his brother-in-law. In 1882, when Margaret died, Benjamin Eakins asked Addie, who was then working as a seamstress at Wanamaker's department store, to come to live with the Eakins family, but she declined. During the 1800s, she went to Chicago, where she remained for six years with her brother, but then returned to Philadelphia. Sometime in 1900, Addie came to live in the Eakins household.

She stayed until June 1939, six months after Mrs. Eakins's death, when, her health failing, she moved to the home of her niece in Washington, D.C. She died May 14, 1941.

Eakins painted two portraits of Addie. The first (Goodrich 323; Art Institute of Chicago) is documented in several letters exchanged between Eakins and Addie, concerning arrangements for sittings, of which Eakins inevitably required many sessions. In 1898, Eakins wrote to Addie asking her to come with her sewing to be with Mrs. Eakins for the afternoon, for he wanted to get a photograph of her head (McHenry, p. 133). On April 27, 1899, Addie wrote Eakins that she had to work on the night he wanted her to pose, and asked if he could postpone his work on the portrait until the next day, Sunday (McHenry, p. 133). Eakins's first portrait of Addie, which resulted from these and many other sittings, shows a prim spinster with a tightly drawn mouth, expressing, according to Schendler, "injury and a muted stoicism" (p. 174). "This woman" he says, "endures by a quiet effort of will, half in shadow, half in light.

One year later, Eakins painted Addie again, and a transformation seems to have taken place. In the Museum's portrait, done when Addie was already living in the Eakins household, her reserve seems to have vanished. "There is now a softness in the vision . . ." continues Schendler, "her eyes are more fully open, and injury and disappointment are more directly written in them."

When Eakins started his second portrait of Addie, he used a 24 by 20 inch canvas and placed the face off center at the left. Large parts of the canvas were filled with her loosely painted dress. Later he cut about two inches off the right side of the painting and tacked the canvas to a new stretcher. Parts of the discarded portion are still preserved on the right tacking edge. With this change, Eakins improved the portrait by creating a more balanced composition and by drawing more attention to the face.

The name of Mary Adeline Williams is forever connected with the donation of the Thomas Eakins Collection to the Philadelphia Museum of Art. When Eakins died in 1916, he left three-fourths of his estate to his wife, Susan Macdowell Eakins, and one-fourth to their friend Mary Adeline Williams. Subsequently, in 1929 and 1930, Mrs. Eakins and Miss Williams presented a selection of the best works by Eakins remaining in their possession to the Museum.



102 SKETCH FOR "PORTRAIT OF LESLIE W. MILLER" Goodrich 349 1901 Oil on cardboard (mounted on hardboard) 13³/₈ x 9⁵/₈" (34 x 24.4 cm); composition 13¹/₄ x 8" (33.37 x 20.3 cm) Unsigned Gift of Percy Chase Miller 45-33-1

Leslie W. Miller (1848–1931) was principal of Philadelphia's School of Industrial Art (now Philadelphia College of Art) and a close friend of Thomas Eakins. Miller had taught at the Massachusetts Normal Art School in Salem and the school of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts before he came to Philadelphia in 1880. At the time Miller arrived, Eakins was director of the schools of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, and the two must have known each other from that time. Indeed, as many other practicing artists did, Leslie Miller registered for the life class at the Academy, in February 1881.

In 1901, Eakins painted a large full-length portrait of Miller (no. 103). First, as was his method, he made this quick oil sketch, painted on cardboard over another unrelated study. He defined the sides of his composition with sweeping strokes, and then with a flat sketching pencil squared off the surface for enlarging.

The sketch of Eakins's dog Harry (no. 104) was once on the reverse of this panel.



103

103 PORTRAIT OF LESLIE W. MILLER Goodrich 348 1901 Oil on burlap canvas (rebacked) 88 x 44" (223.5 x 111.8 cm) Signed, lower right: Eakins / 1901. Gift in memory of Edgar Viguers Seeler by Martha Page Laughlin Seeler 32-13-1

THE PREVIOUS OIL SKETCH (no. 102) was not the only preparatory work Eakins did to aid him in painting this impressive portrait of Leslie Miller, principal of the School of Industrial Art. That he made a number of perspective studies is documented in Charles Sheeler's remembrances of his student days at the school. He recalled Eakins as a short stocky man who came one day to paint the principal's portrait. The students watched him through knotholes in a partition:

As the artist's work continued we witnessed the progress of a perspective drawing which was made on paper and then transferred to the canvas, to account for charts of ornament receding into the background—those charts which we knew only too well. This careful procedure led us to the conclusion that the man, whoever he was, couldn't be a great artist, for we had learned somewhere that great artists painted only by inspiration, a process akin to magic.

Several months were thus consumed; then came a day, as we discovered through the convenient knotholes, when another perspective drawing was made and transferred to the canvas, on the floor and to one side. The letters spelled Eakins. The name was not familiar to us. (Quoted in Constance Rourke, *Charles Sheeler*, New York, 1938, p.15)

Eakins's drawing for the perspective signature is now in the Hirshhorn Museum; the other perspective drawings that Sheeler described are unlocated and may well be lost. The perspective studies of various aspects of this portrait must have been a matter of considerable interest to Leslie Miller, who himself had published a book on the subject in 1887.

The canvas of the portrait of Leslic Miller is exactly twice as high as it is wide, which is an unusual proportion in Eakins's work. Eakins may have stood on a raised platform when he painted it because the eye level is very high, making it almost impossible for the viewer to look at the painting at the height from which the artist observed the scene. Although Eakins had once been concerned that his paintings should be seen from the exact viewpoint of the artist and said so in his perspective manuscript (no. 56), we can assume that it was no longer of great importance to him. Instead the setting was chosen to enhance the characterization of the sitter, not necessarily to create an illusion.

The Portrait of Leslie W. Miller was exhibited for the first time in Cincinnati in 1901. It was awarded the Thomas R. Proctor prize (\$200) as the best portrait in the annual exhibition of the National Academy of Design in New York in 1905, and it also won a second-class medal (\$1000) at the Carnegie exhibition in Pittsburgh in 1907.

In 1923, Leslie Miller wrote about this portrait to Dr. Arthur E. Bye, then curator of paintings at the Pennsylvania Museum, when the picture was on loan to Memorial Hall, where it remained until it was purchased by the Seelers for the Museum.

The primitive, even shabby frame represents Eakins' taste rather than mine as do the old

nondescript clothes in which the subject is garbed which he begged me to rescue from the slop-chest and put on for the occasion, and personally I should be very glad to have the frame at least spruced up a bit.

Ever since I found out how much of a picture he was going to make of it, I have been haunted by a mild regret that I didn't insist on his painting me,—if he painted me at all,—in habilments that would at least have been more like those which I would have worn when appearing in any such character as that in which he has done me the honor to portray me, but, as is evident through out all his work, he had a passion for the ultra informal which sometimes carried him so far as to lead him to prefer the unfit to the fit if it were only old, and worn and familiar enough.

But all that is part of the Eakins hallmark and of course it cannot be spared. He was one of the great ones and I value the picture very highly. (PMA Archives)

The frame that Lcslie Miller described as representing Eakins's taste is still on the portrait. It is made of oak and gilded without a gilder's ground, making the grain of the wood very noticeable. Two narrow black bands border the flat oak planks on all sides.

104 SKETCH OF HARRY

About 1901
Oil on cardboard (mounted on hardboard)
9⁵/₈ x 13³/₈" (24.4 x 34 cm)
Unsigned
Gift of Percy Chase Miller
45-33-2

This incomplete and loosely painted sketch of Eakins's Irish setter Harry had been painted on the reverse of the sketch of Leslie Miller (no. 102) but the two pictures were recently separated. This sketch was so dirty that it escaped Goodrich's attention, for when he listed the sketch of Miller in his catalogue (Goodrich 349), he made no mention of a sketch on the reverse.

The date given here for the sketch of Harry, about 1901, is the same as that of the sketch of Miller, but it is possible that Eakins may have painted Harry earlier. Harry was Eakins's favorite pet, although according to McHenry (p.

58), the dark red dog actually belonged to Eakins's sister Margaret, who died in 1882. Harry went everywhere with Eakins and is seen in many of his works. He appeared first in Shad Fishing at Gloucester (no. 41), painted in 1881; he also is seen in the water of The Swimming Hole, dated 1883 (fig. 4; Goodrich 190), and in A Lady with a Setter Dog, painted in 1885 (Goodrich 213), where he is posed at the feet of Susan Eakins, the artist's wife. He is pictured as late as the early 1890s in two photographs showing Samuel Murray, Eakins, and the sculptor William O'Donovan in Eakins's studio (Hendricks 271 and 272).

In 1890, Eakins made a drawing of Harry that was reproduced on the program of exercises celebrating the presentation of Eakins's portrait of Prof. George W. Fetter at the Girls' Normal School of Philadelphia on February 3, 1890. This portrait (Goodrich 240; Philadelphia High School for Girls) had been commissioned by Fetter's pupils in honor of the twenty-fifth anniversary of his principalship. The folded invitation (a copy is now in the Hirshhorn Museum) has an outline drawing of the Fetter portrait on the front while on the back is seen Harry, a cracker box, and the letter н formed by crackers. Samuel Murray told McHenry that Fetter always brought oyster crackers for Harry when he came to pose for the portrait, and therefore, Eakins drew the dog on the invitation. Murray also commented to McHenry that Harry lived to be very old (p. 110). However, the span of years over which Harry figures in Eakins's works would support Seymour Adelman's contention that there was a succession of red setters in the Eakins household, and that they were all called Harry.



105 AN ACTRESS (PORTRAIT OF SUZANNE SANTJE)
Goodrich 384
1903
Oil on canvas (rebacked)
79³/₄ x 59⁷/₈" (202.6 x 152.1 cm)
Signed, lower left: Eakins / 1903
Gift of Mrs. Thomas Eakins and
Miss Mary Adeline Williams
29-184-23

McHenry reports that Samuel Murray took Eakins to a great many plays (p. 117). One of the first they saw together was Richard Mansfield's production of *Beau Brummel*, which played at the Walnut Street Theatre in March 1901, with Suzanne Santje in the role of Mrs. St. Aubyn. Immediately Eakins decided that

he wanted to paint her.

Suzanne Santje (1873–1947), born Suzanne Keyser,* was the daughter of Charles Shearer Keyser, a prominent Philadelphia judge who had been active in the establishment of Fairmount Park and involved with the preservation of Independence Hall. She studied briefly at the University of Pennsylvania, where she received a certificate of proficiency in 1891. Then she went to Berlin with her father to study music. In 1802 she was in Paris, where she enrolled at the famous Institut Rody. The first American to be admitted to this theatrical school, she also had the distinction in 1893 of being the first foreigner to receive its annual medal of honor. "Then I did a foolish thing," she recalled in an interview with The New York Dramatic Mirror, May 9, 1896: "Instead of staying in Paris and taking chances on being admitted to the Comédie Française in a minor capacity, nothing would satisfy me but I must rush back to America, where I had almost forgotten my native tongue, to try to take my native land by storm. One little success in America seemed to me preferable to a dozen such triumphs in Paris. Home I came with my father, and it was highly gratifying to read in the Philadelphia papers the story of my foreign conquest."

McHenry reports that it took a great deal of persuasion before Suzanne Santje agreed to pose for Eakins, and that he had to work fast because her time was very much taken up with rehearsals. Eakins first painted a small oil sketch of the actress (Goodrich 385; Hirshhorn Museum), which he then transferred to his large canvas on which a central vertical pencil

^{*}The following biographical information is drawn in part from an unpublished research paper written by Elsa Weiner in 1972 for the University of Pennsylvania.



line and several horizontal lines were drawn. The canvas was originally somewhat larger, the top edge having been cropped, probably by Eakins to improve the composition.

Large, slashing strokes of red, orange, and light pink define the actress's dress with a wonderful fluidity, but are somewhat arbitrary, suggesting little of the form underneath. The face also is broadly painted in separate color

areas with little attempt at detailing. This sketchy treatment may have suggested to Hendricks that the painting remained unfinished (*Life*, p. 347, no. 309), but this is not the case. Eakins deliberately signed the painting, in meticulous perspective like his signature on the portrait of Leslie Miller (no. 103), which he would not have done had he not considered the painting completed.

The actress sits in the same chair that is seen in a number of other Eakins paintings and in his photographs, appearing as early as 1872 in Katherine (Goodrich 45; Yale University Art Gallery) and as late as 1908 in The Old-Fashioned Dress (no. 113), while a similarly shaped vase and a similar carpet appear in The Pathetic Song (fig. 3; Goodrich 148). These suggest that the setting of the portrait is the artist's Mount Vernon Street house. However, several of the other objects shown relate directly to Suzanne Santje, and to her career. The portrait of the bearded man in the background is her father, Judge Keyser, who was at her side through all her youthful triumphs. Although McHenry said that the subject was Eakins's student David Wilson Jordan and Hendricks thought that it might be Suzanne Santje's first husband Al Roth, a theatrical agent (Life, p. 257), the portrait has now been definitely identified as her father.*

Proof of the sitter's identity rests in the coat of arms that decorates the frame of his portrait (Appendix B, fig. 9a). It matches perfectly the arms of the Keyser family, which traces its aneestry to one Dirck Keyser of Amsterdam, who came to America in 1688 and settled in Germantown. The coat of arms was described and illustrated in the family's bicentennial reunion book, The Keyser Family: Descendants of Dirck Keyser of Amsterdam, compiled by Charles S. Keyser and published in 1889 (Appendix B, fig. 9b), which also reproduces a photograph of Keyser. Whether Eakins actually painted a portrait of Keyser, which he then reproduced in the portrait of his daughter, is open to speculation.

Other attributes of the actress are the book on the floor, entitled *Camille*, then a popular role for dramatic actresses. The title on this book was changed by the artist; close examination reveals that at first it was *Hamlet*, another particularly popular role for women at this time. The letter on the floor addressed to "Miss Suzanne Santje Roanoke Va." alludes to the actress's position as head of the Coburn-Santje Stock Company in that city.



106

106 SKETCH FOR "PORTRAIT OF MOTHER PATRICIA WALDRON"

Goodrich 375

1903

Oil on canvas (mounted on Masonite)

 $14^{3}/_{8} \times 10^{1}/_{2}'' (36.5 \times 26.7 \text{ cm}); \text{ composition } 9^{1}/_{2} \times 10^{1}/_{2} \times 10^{$

7¹/₂" (24.1 x 19.1 cm)

Unsigned

Inscribed, lower right, by Mrs. Eakins: Sketch/

T.E.

Gift of Mrs. Thomas Eakins and

Miss Mary Adeline Williams

30-32-14

About 1900, Samuel Murray, who was born a Roman Catholic, introduced Eakins to the Seminary of St. Charles Borromeo in Overbrook, just outside Philadelphia's city limits. The seminary, which then as now was one of the foremost schools for Catholic priests in the country, had been built by Eakins's friend, Archbishop James Frederick Wood. Eakins had painted a portrait of the archbishop in 1877 (Goodrich 107), but there is no evidence that he maintained contact with the Catholic clergy after the archbishop's death. When Murray reintroduced him to their world, it immediately became an important part of his life, and between 1900 and 1906 he painted at least fourteen portraits of Catholic clerics (see also no. 111).

^{*}This identification was first suggested by Milton Kenin, Librarian of the Union League of Philadelphia, on the basis of the resemblance of the portrait to a photograph of Keyser.

On many Sundays during these years, Eakins and Murray rode on their bicycles to the seminary, where they were graciously received and invited to spend the day. Eakins made a number of friends among the distinguished faculty members; he enjoyed their hospitality, their intellectual stimulation, and the contemplative atmosphere of their retreat. For many years Eakins's *Crucifixion* (no. 37) was on loan to the seminary, and one wonders how his new friends reacted to the painting of Wallace on the cross, or what they thought of the artist, who was openly agnostic.

Among Eakins's portraits of Catholic clerics during this period was one of Mother Mary Patricia Waldron, painted in 1903, which has survived only in the form of this sketch. Mother Patricia, who had been born in Ireland in 1834, was Superior of the convent of the Sisters of Mercy, at Broad Street and Columbia Avenue in Philadelphia, and of the convent at Merion. Eakins painted her portrait not as a commission but because he was deeply interested in this remarkable woman. She paid him a modest sum for his work and accepted the painting, which hung in the convent until after her death in 1916, the same year that Eakins died.

Apparently the sisters at the convent did not like Eakins's portrait, for in 1921 they commissioned William Antrim, another Philadelphia painter, to make a posthumous portrait of Mother Waldron from a photograph that was more to their liking. They gave Eakins's portrait to Antrim, who re-used the stretcher and discarded the earlier portrait in the attic of his studio at 1305 Arch Street. When the building was later torn down, the painting disappeared. Around 1936, Antrim related this story to Frances Lichten, then research associate at the Philadelphia Museum of Art. Antrim's recollections were probably accurate, for in examining the Antrim portrait, it was found to be tacked to a stretcher made by F. Weber and Company at the turn of the century that bears the same label as the stretcher of the Portrait of Dr. Edward J. Nolan (no. 99). The dimensions of the stretcher are 46 by 32 inches, showing that the portrait was fairly large in scale.

If the sketch for the portrait of Mother Waldron is any evidence, the finished portrait may well have been among Eakins's most impressive works. Her bulky, serene figure, draped in the black habit of the Sisters of Mercy, forms a bold pyramid, which is reinforced by a light pyramid within this shape, her face and white inner garments. Her folded hands are large and

dominate the foreground. As are many of Eakins's oil sketches, this one is squared off for enlarging. There are nine horizontal and seven vertical lines forming one-inch squares.

On the reverse of this sketch is a label in Mrs. Eakins's handwriting: "Presented to Museum of Art, Fairmount. A small sketch for the large canvas would be made, saved time for both artist and sitter. Transferred to the large canvas, the artist was ready to finish the portrait after the first pose. This sketch of 'Mother Superior' by Thomas Eakins."

Another sketch was on the reverse of the original cardboard panel. In the 1920s both Burroughs and Marceau listed a *Sketch for Portrait of Miss Parker* on the reverse, but when it was given to the Museum in 1930, the portrait sketch had been removed.

107 THE OBOE PLAYER (PORTRAIT OF DR. BENJAMIN SHARP)
Goodrich 387
1903
Oil on canvas (rebacked)
36¹/₈ x 24¹/₈" (91.8 x 61.3 cm)
Signed on chair back, at left: EAKINS 1903
Gift of Mrs. Benjamin Sharp
46-77-1





Throughout Eakins's Liff, music was one of his greatest pleasures. During his later years, his social activities frequently centered around music. Throughout his art, too, from his very first finished composition in oil, A Street Scene in Seville, painted in 1870 (fig. 1; Goodrich 33), to a group of paintings of orchestral musicians done in the first decade of this century, the subject of music and musicians is a recurrent theme. Among the late paintings with a musical theme is this portrait of Dr. Benjamin Sharp (1858–1915), called The Oboe Player when it was first exhibited at the twenty-fifth annual exhibition of the Society of American Artists in New York in 1903.

Dr. Sharp was the kind of versatile scientistartist who represented to Eakins the highest achievements of mankind. He was a physician, a zoologist, and a writer, and he also played the oboe in the Philadelphia Symphonic Society, which later became the Philadelphia Orchestra. He had been professor of zoology at the University of Pennsylvania between 1884 and 1886, and Eakins may well have known him then, when he served as a member of the Muybridge commission (see no. 58). Sharp was also corresponding secretary of the Academy of Natural Sciences, where Eakins presented a lecture in 1894 (see no. 99). Somewhat earlier, in 1891, Sharp had accompanied Lt. Robert E. Peary as zoologist on the scientific expedition to Greenland under the auspices of the Academy of Natural Sciences. His account of the expedition, published in Scribner's Magazine in 1892, made Dr. Sharp well known throughout the country. Later, when he went to live permanently in Nantucket, Sharp represented the island in the Massachusetts legislature from 1910 to 1913.

Unlike most of the other portraits in the collection, The Oboe Player was not given to the Museum by Mrs. Eakins and Miss Williams, but came as the gift of Dr. Sharp's widow. In 1903, when it was first exhibited, the portrait belonged to Sharp; whether it was purchased from Eakins or was a gift to Sharp is not known. Apparently Sharp did not actually have the picture until several years later, for he permitted Eakins to send it to a number of exhibitions. Two of the labels on the stretcher are filled out in Eakins's own handwriting: one simply specifies that the painting be returned to the Haseltine Galleries in Philadelphia, Eakins's agents; while the other, for the Carnegie Institute's annual exhibition in Pittsburgh, lists "Oböc Player Thomas Eakins 1729 Mt Vernon St. Dr. Benjamin Sharp. Sharp. Nantucket Mass." This label was for Carnegie's eighth annual exhibition in 1903, for which Eakins served as a member of the jury of awards. In 1904 he submitted the portrait to the annual exhibition of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts. Finally, in 1907, Eakins was willing to relinquish the painting. On December 22 of that year, he wrote to Sharp: "The oboe player is stored in the Academy of Fine Arts. It was returned there from Indianapolis instead of to Hazeltine, so that when you spoke to Murray of wanting it I had not yet found it. It has indeed traveled its rounds of exhibitions so I don't think I shall need it soon again; so where do you want it" (collection of Benjamin S. Richmond).

108 SKETCH FOR "MUSIC" (THE VIOLINIST)
Goodrich 403
About 1904
Oil on canvas (mounted on cardboard)
13 x 14⁷/₈" (33 x 37.8 cm); composition 11¹/₂ x
13¹/₂" (29.2 x 34.3 cm)
Unsigned
Gift of Mrs. Thomas Eakins and
Miss Mary Adeline Williams
30-32-9

On Saturday Afternoons, Frank B. A. Linton, a former pupil of Eakins at the Art Students' League of Philadelphia, would give musicales in his studio at 1707 Chestnut Street, which he shared with Samuel Myers, a pianist. Eakins would sometimes attend these perfor-

mances and, according to Helen Parker Evans (see no. 113), he "would sit in a corner and sob like a child" (McHenry, p. 121). At such an occasion, Eakins may have decided to paint Music (Goodrich 402; Albright-Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo), showing Hedda van den Beemt (1880–1925), a violinist with the Philadelphia Orchestra, with Myers in the background playing the piano.

In the Sketch for "Music" only van den Beemt appears, but he is in the same position as in the final painting. Eakins painted this sketch freely and rapidly over an earlier sketch. X-ray analysis does not explain the earlier painting, although the texture of the underlying strokes shows through the sketch very clearly. Eakins then squared off the sketch with a chiselpointed flat drawing pencil before the paint had thoroughly dried, and transferred the shapes to the large canvas.

After he had completed *Music*, Eakins took up the sketch of van den Beemt to paint him on an even larger scale in *The Violinist* (Goodrich 404; Hirshhorn Museum), showing the violinist again in the same position. Goodrich reports that *The Violinist* was intended as a present to van den Beemt in return for his posing for *Music*, but that the painting was never finished because he could give Eakins only a few sittings.

In 1904, Eakins also painted separate portraits of Samuel Myers (Goodrich 405; Hirshhorn Museum) and of Frank Linton (fig. 9; Goodrich 406).

109 PORTRAIT OF EDWARD TAYLOR

SNOW
Goodrich 411
1904
Oil on canvas
24 x 20¹/16" (61 x 51 cm)
Signed and inscribed on reverse: TO MY FRIEND /
E. TAYLOR SNOW / THOMAS EAKINS / 1904
Bequest of Mrs. Laura Elliot Harmstad
53-120-1

EDWARD TAYLOR SNOW (1844–1913) was a landscape painter, a writer, a collector, and a prominent figure in the Philadelphia art world. He was born in the same year as Eakins, and it is possible that the two may have met when Eakins first studied at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts. It has been reported that Snow also studied there, but his name does not appear as a student in available Academy records. However, his appearance in a list of



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Academy Fellowship members indicates he must have attended the Academy at some time.

In 1904, when Eakins painted Snow's portrait, the well-known Dutch painter B.J. Blommers was visiting Snow. Eakins seized the occasion and painted a portrait of Blommers (Goodrich 412; Toledo Museum of Art) and also one of his wife (Goodrich 413), both of which were taken by the sitters back to The Netherlands.

Eakins's portrait of Snow, as well as that of B.J. Blommers, was first exhibited in the annual exhibition of the Art Club of Philadelphia, from November 21 until December 18, 1904. In the following year, 1905, Snow was elected a member of the Art Club, where he exhibited his paintings for several years. Eakins himself was not elected a member of the Philadelphia Art Club until 1916, the year of his death, when he was blind and had not painted for four years.



110

110 PORTRAIT OF REAR ADMIRAL GEORGE WALLACE MELVILLE Goodrich 408

1904 Oil on canvas (rebacked) $48 \times 30^{1/8}$ " (121.9 × 76.5 cm) Signed, lower right: EAKINS 1904 Inscribed on reverse: REAR ADMIRAL / GEORGE • WALLACE • MELVILLE • U • S • N / BORN NEW YORK CITY JANUARY 10 1841 / ENTERED U • S • NAVY JULY 29, 1861. / 1881 CHIEE ENGINEER / 1887 ENGINEER IN CHIEE / 1898 REAR ADMIRAL / 1904 RETIRED. / MEMBER OF THE HALL RELIEE / EXPEDITION 1873 / CHIEE ENGINEER JEANNETTE / EXPEDITION 1879-82 / CHIEE ENGINEER GREELEY RELIEE / EXPEDITION 1883 / DEGREES / L • L • D (PA) D • E (STEVENS) M • A / (GEORGETOWN) M • E (COLUMBIA) Gift of Mrs. Thomas Eakins and Miss Mary Adeline Williams 29-184-6

THE DICTIONARY OF AMERICAN BIOGRAPHY describes Rear Admiral George Wallace Melville (1841–1912) as "gruff and irascible . . . [with] a dauntless and masterful spirit, which suited his massive frame, leonine head, and great domelike forehead." A prominent hero, Melville repeatedly challenged the elements and risked his life in his pursuit of an heroic naval career, and his accomplishments are boldly inscribed in Eakins's hand on the reverse of his portrait. His

first noted act of heroism occurred during the Civil War at Bahia, Brazil, where as a spy for the Union, he attempted to board the Confederate ship Florida dressed as a civilian. Being immensely ambitious and enterprising, he later volunteered for duty in the Arctic. His first expedition was as chief engineer of the *Tigress*, which was sent north in 1873 to search for missing members of the *Polaris* expedition. In 1879 he embarked as chief engineer of the *Jeannette*, a ship which was later eaught in the iee for almost two years before it finally sank. Melville escaped by way of Siberia with a small number of the erew. After only a few weeks of rest, he returned to the Arctic to search for other survivors, but found only their bodies. In 1887 he was appointed chief of the Bureau of Steam Engineering where he was responsible for the design of 120 new naval vessels. In 1899, Melville achieved the rank of rear admiral and served as president of the American Society of Mechanical Engineers. In 1904, according to the inscription, Melville retired from the navy.

Melville became a close friend of Samuel Murray, and McHenry reports that he aecompanied Eakins and Murray to a number of prize fights. Eakins asked the admiral to pose for this portrait, which he apparently did with pleasure, for in 1905 he posed for a second portrait (Goodrieh 420; private eollection). He also sat for a bust portrait by Murray, a plaster of which belongs to Moore College of Art and is signed: "Samuel Murray 1905 Copyright." The Moore College of Art also owns a photograph of a slightly different version which is proudly signed: "Geo W. Melville Rear Admiral U.S. Navy." Murray gave this photograph to Emily Sartain in 1905. Eakins's portrait shows Melville in his dark-blue naval uniform with three medals on his ehest. The star-shaped one on the left is the medal of the Grand Army of the Republie; the next, the medal of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion; and the third, a medal awarded by Congress to members of the Jeannette expedition (Hendrieks, Life, p. 347, no. 314).

For several years before his death, Melville was planning to have a life-size statue of himself seulpted by Murray and presented to the City of Philadelphia. He set aside \$10,000 in his will for the purpose of producing the statue, which he hoped would be erected in Washington Square, not far from Murray's statue of Commodore Barry in Independence Square. However, Murray's full-size bronze sculpture of Melville was eventually erected at the entrance to the Philadelphia Naval Yard.

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111 SKETCH FOR "PORTRAIT OF MONSIGNOR JAMES P. TURNER"

MONSIGNOR JAMES P. TURNER'
Goodrich 439
About 1906
Oil on cardboard
14¹/₂ x 10¹/₂" (36.8 x 26.7 cm); composition 12¹/₂ x 6¹/₂" (31.8 x 16.5 cm)
Unsigned
Inscribed, lower right, by Mrs. Eakins: Sketch /

Gift of Mrs. Thomas Eakins and Miss Mary Adeline Williams

30-32-15

Among the Catholic priests whom Eakins met when he began to spend Sunday afternoons at the Seminary of St. Charles Borromeo (see no. 106) was the Reverend James P. Turner, D.D. (1857–1929), who, at that time, was managing editor of the American Catholic Quarterly Review. They soon became close friends, and about 1900, Eakins painted a very sympathetic, understated portrait of him, showing only his head and the upper part of his black cassock (Goodrich 347; Seminary of St. Charles Borromeo).

In 1903, Father Turner was designated vicar general of the archdiocese and in 1905, he was raised to the rank of monsignor. His new duties transferred him to the Cathedral of SS. Peter and Paul in downtown Philadelphia, only a few blocks from the Eakins house. In 1876, Eakins had watched Archbishop James Frederick

Wood during a ceremony there, and had then decided to paint his portrait. He had also intended to paint the ceremony but this did not progress beyond the nine pencil sketches that are now in the Hirshhorn Museum because the archbishop had not been well enough to pose for such an ambitious painting. It was thirty years later that Eakins saw Monsignor Turner officiating in the cathedral at the funeral of a prominent layman Peter Dooner and decided to paint him in his red vestments standing before the altar in the left sanctuary.

In this oil sketch, which he painted first, Monsignor Turner is shown full length, standing in front of the altar rail, his clasped hands holding a book. He wears the red and black biretta of a monsignor, and red vestments with white lace sleeves. The final painting that resulted from this sketch (Goodrich 438) is now owned by the Sisters of Mercy of Misericordia Hospital in Philadelphia. It is large, 88 by 42 inches, and in the background, part of a mosaic that is still in the cathedral's left sanctuary is shown. Eakins exhibited the portrait for the first time at the Corcoran Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C., in February 1907.

The cardboard support of the sketch is painted on both sides, the reverse showing the Sketch for "William Rush and His Model" (no. 112).

112 SKETCH FOR "WILLIAM RUSH AND HIS MODEL"

Goodrich 439 About 1908 Oil on cardboard 14¹/₂ x 10¹/₂" (36.8 x 26.7 cm) Unsigned Gift of Mrs. Thomas Eakins and Miss Mary Adeline Williams 30-32-15R

In 1908, Eakins returned to a theme that had absorbed him thirty years earlier, and which must have interested him all his life, that of the sculptor William Rush and his model (see no. 28). Now he returned to his wax models of Rush's sculptures (no. 26) and again he worked on several compositions that showed the sculptor and the nude model.

This sketch shows a youthful artist, possibly representing Eakins himself, helping a nude model as she steps from a modeling stand. At left another figure is holding her garments, and in the background, shown twice, is the statue for which the model had been posing, Rush's Allegorical Figure of the Schuylkill River. In another



similar study (Goodrich 454; Hirshhorn Museum) the model is more finished, and the attendant is also nude; but that study does not include the artist or the statues. The painting of William Rush and His Model (fig. 10; Goodrich 451), which is in the Honolulu Academy of Fine Arts, was not completed. It shows the nude model, somewhat more frontally than in the Museum's sketch, being helped from the modeling stand by the sculptor. He holds a mallet in his other hand, and his legs are hidden by a large wooden ornamental scroll in the foreground. These elements are quite finished, but the rest of the canvas is bare. It is possible that the Philadelphia sketch shows the whole composition as Eakins had planned it. A second unfinished version of William Rush and His Model (Goodrich 453; private collection) is also known, but this shows only the model stepping off her stand.

At about the same time, Eakins also painted a second version of William Rush Carving His Allegorical Figure of the Schuylkill River (Goodrich 445; Brooklyn Museum). This painting, signed and dated 1908, is quite similar to the 1876–77 version (no. 28), but larger and more monochromatic. The chaperone, now placed in the left corner of the painting, is a black woman, who is also knitting, but this time seen from the front. The model is shown entirely from the back, and Rush is now on the right side of the

painting. In the shop may be seen Rush's Waterworks sculptures and his statue of George Washington, for which Eakins had made wax models in 1877. The east-off clothing of the model, which had offended the critics thirty years earlier, has been eliminated from this version.

This sketch is painted on the reverse of the oil sketch of Monsignor Turner (no. 111).

113 THE OLD-FASHIONED DRESS (PORTRAIT OF HELEN PARKER) Goodrich 457

Goodrich 457 About 1908 Oil on canvas (rebacked) $60^{1}/_{8} \times 40^{3}/_{16}''$ (152.7 × 102.1 cm) Inscribed, lower right, by Mrs. Eakins: T.E. Gift of Mrs. Thomas Eakins and Miss Mary Adeline Williams 29-184-29

Some TIME around 1904, Helen Montanverde Parker (1885–1975), a student at the School of Industrial Art, met Eakins during a musical performance in the studio of his friend and former pupil Frank Linton (see no. 108). Sometime later, Eakins saw Helen Parker again, wearing a dress that had belonged to her grandmother, and proposed to paint a portrait of her in the dress.

According to her mother, the noted silhouette artist Mrs. Willard Parker, who knew Eakins and in 1906 cut a silhouette of his profile that is now in the Philadelphia Museum of Art (Appendix A, no. 40), the portrait required about thirty-five poses, two and three hours at a time. Eakins painted a small sketch on eardboard first (Goodrich 458; collection of Mr. and Mrs. Daniel W. Dietrich H), and then developed the subject in a larger canvas, 36 by 22 inches (Goodrich 459; collection of Mr. and Mrs. Daniel W. Dietrich H), before he worked on the final painting. McHenry reports that the dress remained at Eakins's studio between poses and that Mrs. Eakins and Addie Williams, a seamstress by profession, would "pore over the dress, studying it" (p. 130). McHenry also reports that Helen Parker had been disconcerted by the painting because Eakins would not make her "just a little pretty' but [he] kept saying, 'You're very beautiful. You're very beautiful,' while reveling in her neck bones and making her 'really small and dainty nose more and more bulbous."

The Old-Fashioned Dress is thinly painted, and in some areas, such as the lower part of the dress, the three-inch grid pattern that Eakins



drew on the canvas to assist him in enlarging the smaller studies can still be seen. The paint is noticeably thicker in the flesh tones, particularly the face, and x-rays reveal a change in the position of the sitter's right hand, which at first was higher.

The date of this painting is not entirely clear. Mrs. Eakins had inscribed 1886 on the back of the canvas, a date that must be wrong because it is the year after Helen Parker was born. On one of many labels on the stretcher, Mrs. Eakins wrote that it was painted in 1906. Mrs. Parker said that it was painted in 1908 and that Eakins "put on it a lot of work." If she is correct in stating that Eakins required about thirty-five poses, then the work could easily have stretched over two years, as in the case of *The*

Concert Singer (no. 78). In March 1961, Mrs. Helen Parker Evans, who had moved to Minneapolis, visited the Philadelphia Museum of Art and viewed her portrait. She told Henri Marceau, then the director of the Museum, that she still owned the dress in which Eakins had painted her. Hearing of the Museum's well-known costume collection, which already owned one dress shown in a painting by Eakins, that of Mrs. Dodge (see no. 92), she decided to present her old-fashioned dress to the Museum (Appendix A, no. 46).

In 1969, having read Sylvan Schendler's monograph on Eakins, Mrs. Evans wrote to her children: "Once more my 'Ugly Duckling' portrait comes to light . . . Checking over the Index I find that there are 17 of Mr. Eakins sitters who used to come often to our house. Ghosts of fifty years have been running up and down my spine" (October 25, 1969, collection

of Willard P. Evans).

APPENDIX A

Other Works by and Relating to Thomas Eakins

WORKS BY THOMAS EAKINS

- 1 Models for "William Rush Carving His Allegorical Figure of the Schuylkill River" 1876-77 (cast 1931 by Mrs. Eakins with the help of Samuel Murray; see no. 26) Gift of Mrs. Thomas Eakins
- A Water Nymph and Bittern
 Plaster, shellacked
 9¹/₂ x 4¹/₈ x 3" (24.1 x 10.5 x 7.6 cm)
 Unsigned
 32-19-1d
- B *Head of the Water Nymph*Plaster, shellacked
 7³/₈ x 4³/₈ x 3³/₄" (18.7 x 11.1 x 9.5 cm)
 Unsigned
 32-19-1b
- C The Schuylkill Freed (Allegory of the Waterworks)
 Plaster, shellacked
 4¹/₂ x 8¹/₂ x 2³/₄" (11.4 x 21.6 x 6.9 cm)
 Unsigned
 Inscribed on reverse: Oct. 14th 31
 32-19-16
- D George Washington
 Plaster, shellacked
 81/4 x 4 x 23/4" (20.9 x 10.1 x 6.9 cm)
 Unsigned
 32-19-10
- E *Head of William Rush*Plaster, shellacked
 7¹/₄ x 4¹/₄ x 4⁷/₈" (18.4 x 10.8 x 12.4 cm)
 Unsigned
 32-19-1a
- 2 The Agnew Clinic
 1893
 Collotype
 10³/₁₆ x 14" (25.9 x 35.5 cm)
 Signed and inscribed on mat, lower right: To Dr.
 Fenton from his friend the painter / Thomas
 Eakins.
 Gift of Miss Beatrice Fenton
 76-148-1

PHOTOGRAPHS BY THOMAS EAKINS OR MEMBERS OF HIS CIRCLE

3 Parody of "The Gross Clinic"
Hendricks 245
1875-76
A 5 x 4" (12.7 x 10.1 cm)
Gift of George Barker
1977-172-1
B 10 x 8" (25.4 x 20.3 cm)
Gift of George Barker
1977-172-4

- 4 Parody of "The Gross Clinic" Hendricks 246 1875-76 A 4 x 5¹/₈" (10.1 x 13 cm) Gift of George Barker 1977-172-2 B 8 x 9⁷/₈" (20.3 x 25.1 cm) Gift of George Barker
- 5 Students of Thomas Eakins c. 1878 A 4 x 5" (10.1 x 12.7 cm) Gift of George Barker 1977-172-8 B 8 x 9⁷/₈" (20.3 x 25.1 cm) Gift of George Barker 1977-172-7
- 6 An Eakins Class at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts

 Hendricks 2

 c. 1878

 A 4 x 5" (10.1 x 12.7 cm)

 Gift of George Barker

 1977-172-5

 B 8 x 9⁷/₈" (20.3 x 25.1 cm)

 Gift of George Barker

 1977-172-6
- 7 Modeling Class at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts Hendricks 40 1881–83 8 x 10" (20.3 x 25.4 cm) Gift of Charles Bregler 1977-171-25
- 8 Man Striding to the Right 1884 3⁵/₈ x 4⁷/₈" (9.2 x 12.4 cm) Gift of Charles Bregler 1977-171-1
- 9 Man Pole-Vaulting to the Left Hendricks 101 (reversed) 1884 5¹/₁₆ x 6⁷/₈" (12.8 x 17.4 cm) Gift of Charles Bregler 1977-171-8
- 10 Man Pole-Vaulting to the Right 1884 5¹/₁₆ x 6³/₄" (12.8 x 17.1 cm) Gift of Charles Bregler 1977-171-10

- 11 Man Jumping to the Left 1884 5 x 6³/₄" (12.7 x 17.1 cm) Gift of Charles Bregler 1977-171-12
- 12 Man Walking to the Right Hendricks 105 1884 5¹/₁₆ x 6⁷/₈" (12.8 x 17.4 cm) Gift of Charles Bregler 1977-171-17
- 13 Man Running to the Left with Balls Attached Hendricks 103 1884 3³/₄ x 4¹³/₁₆" (9.5 x 12.2 cm) Gift of Charles Bregler 1977-171-3
- 14 Boy Jumping to the Left 1884 5¹/₁₆ x 6¹⁵/₁₆" (12.8 x 17.6 cm) Gift of Charles Bregler 1977-171-11
- 15 Boy Jumping to the Right 1884 5 x 6³/₄" (12.7 x 17.1 cm) Gift of Charles Bregler 1977-171-7
- 16 Man Striding to the Right
 Hendricks 110
 1884
 5¹/₁₆ x 6³/₄" (12.8 x 17.1 cm)
 Gift of Charles Bregler
 1977-171-16
- 17 Man Jumping to the Left Hendricks 111 1884 3⁵/₈ x 4¹³/₁₆" (9.2 x 12.2 cm) Gift of Charles Bregler 1977-171-2
- 18 Man Running and Jumping to the Left 1884 5 x 6³/₄" (12.7 x 17.1 cm) Gift of Charles Bregler 1977-171-13
- 19 Man Jumping to the Right
 1884
 5 1/16 x 6 3 / 4" (12.8 x 17.1 cm)
 Gift of Charles Bregler
 1977-171-9
- 20 Woman Walking to the Right 1884 5¹/₈ x 6¹³/₁₆" (13 x 17.3 cm) Gift of Charles Bregler 1977-171-18

- 21 Man Riding a Horse
 Hendricks 118
 1884
 4 x 5 ¹/₈" (10.1 x 12.8 cm)
 Gift of Charles Bregler
 1977-171-14
- 22 Man Riding a Horse 1884 4¹/₂ x 6⁹/₁₆" (11.4 x 16.6 cm) Gift of Charles Bregler 1977-171-15
- 23 Man, Clothed, on Ladder Leaning Away to the Left Hendricks 121 (reversed) 1884 5¹/₈ x 6⁵/₈" (13 x 16.8 cm) Gift of Charles Bregler 1977-171-20
- 24 Eakins (Nude) Astride Billy Hendricks 268 1891–95 8 x 10" (20.3 x 25.4 cm) Gift of Charles Bregler 1977-171-19
- 25 Eakins Astride Billy Hendricks 269 1891–95 8 x 10" (20.3 x 25.4 cm) Gift of Charles Bregler
- 26 Murray, Eakins, O'Donovan, and Dog Harry, in Studio, 1330 Chestnut Street
 1891–95
 8 x 9⁷/₈" (20.3 x 25.1 cm)
 Gift of Charles Bregler
 1977-171-26
- 27 Two Wrestlers
 Hendricks 230
 c. 1899
 81/8 x 10" (20.6 x 25.4 cm)
 Gift of Charles Bregler
 1977-171-23
- 28 Two Wrestlers c. 1899 81/8 x 10" (20.6 x 25.4 cm) Gift of Charles Bregler 1977-171-22
- 29 Two Wrestlers (Standing)
 Hendricks 231
 c. 1899
 10 x 8¹/₁₆" (25.4 x 20.5 cm)
 Gift of Charles Bregler
 1977-171-24

PORTRAITS AND PHOTOGRAPHS OF THOMAS EAKINS

- 30 Thomas Eakins as a Child
 1850
 Photograph of daguerreotype
 61/4 x 415/16" (15.9 x 12.5 cm)
 Gift of Stanley P. Reimann, M.D.
 1977-173-1
- 31 Charles Fussell
 Young Art Student (Sketch of
 Thomas Eakins)
 c. 1861–66
 Oil on paper
 14^{1/2} x 12^{7/8}" (36.8 x 32.7 cm)
 Gift of Seymour Adelman
 46-73-1
- 32 Thomas Eakins as a Young Man c. 1868 Photograph 6¹/₈ x 4⁷/₁₆" (15.5 x 11.3 cm) Bequest of Mark Lutz 69-194-20
- 33 Frederick Gutekunst
 Thomas Eakins
 Hendricks 249
 1882
 Photograph
 5 x 4" (12.7 x 10.1 cm)
 Bequest of Mark Lutz
 69-194-19
- 34 Frederick Gutekunst Thomas Eakins Hendricks 260 1893 Photograph 5¹/₂ x 3⁷/₈" (14 x 9.8 cm) Bequest of Mark Lutz 69-194-17
- 35 Thomas Eakins
 Hendricks 274
 c. 1895
 Photogravure
 3⁹/₁₆ x 3¹/₄" (9 x 8.2 cm)
 Bequest of Mark Lutz
 69-194-16
- 36 Samuel Murray
 Head of Thomas Eakins
 1894 (cast 1929)
 Bronze
 21 x 9 x 8" (53.3 x 22.8 x 20.3 cm)
 Gift of Mrs. Thomas Eakins and
 Miss Mary Adeline Williams
 30-32-20
- 37 Samuel Murray
 Hand of Thomas Eakins
 Bronze

 8⁵/₈ x 7¹/₂ x 2¹/₂" (21.9 x 19 x 6.3 cm)
 Gift of Mrs. Thomas Eakins and
 Miss Mary Adeline Williams
 30-32-19

- 38 Frederick J. von Rapp Thomas Eakins 1901 or 1902 Photograph 9⁵/₁₆ x 6³/₈" (23.6 x 16.2 cm) Gift of Mrs. Henri Marceau 69-254-7
- 39 *Thomas Eakins*c. 1904
 Photograph
 4¹/₄ x 3¹/₂" (10.8 x 8.9 cm)
 Bequest of Mark Lutz
 69-194-18
- 40 Kate P. Parker

 Portrait of Thomas Eakins

 c. 1905-6

 Silhouette, cut from black paper

 9⁷/₈ x 7¹³/₁₆" (25.1 x 19.8 cm); composition 6¹/₂ x 5"

 (16.5 x 12.7 cm)

 Inscribed across bottom: Many thanks to Mrs.

 K.P. Parker / for her skilful silhouette / Thomas
 Eakins.

 Gift of Miss Frances Lichten

 58-89-2
- 41 Susan Macdowell Eakins
 Portrait of Thomas Eakins
 c. 1920–25
 Oil on canvas
 50 x 40" (127 x 101.6 cm)
 Gift of Charles Bregler
 39-11-1
- 42 Helen Parker Evans

 Thomas Eakins—Great Artist

 1961 (copy after Portrait of Thomas Eakins [Appendix A, no. 40])

 10 x 8" (25.4 x 20.3 cm); composition 6½ x 5"

 (16.5 x 12.7 cm)

 Gift of Mrs. Helen Parker Evans

 61-47-3
- 43 Leonard Baskin

 Model for "Thomas Eakins House Medal"

 1972
 Plaster
 Diameter 10¹/₄" (26 cm)
 Gift of Leonard Baskin
 72-236-1
- 44 Leonard Baskin

 Thomas Eakins House Medal
 1972
 Silver
 Diameter 21/2" (6.3 cm)
 Gift of Seymour Adelman
 73-74-1

RELATED OBJECTS

- 45 Dress worn by Mrs. James Mapes Dodge to Grover Cleveland's inaugural ball in 1893 and when she posed for Thomas Eakins in 1895–96 (see no. 92) Gift of Mrs. James Mapes Dodge 50-59-4a,b
- 46 Dress worn by Helen Parker when she posed for The Old-Fashioned Dress (no. 113) Gift of Mrs. Helen Parker Evans 61-47-1,2

LETTERS AND ACCOUNTS

- 47 Expenses, addresses, and letterbook kept by Eakins in Europe 1866–68
 Leatherbound notebook 5⁵/₈ x 3¹¹/₁₆" (14·3 x 9·4 cm)
 Gift of Seymour Adelman 49-84-1
- 48 Account of expenses, April 12, 1867 Gift of Seymour Adelman 46-73-33
- 49 Letter from Thomas Eakins to Mrs. Edward Russell Jones, February 4, 1905 Gift of the Misses Adelaide and Constance Jones

APPENDIX B

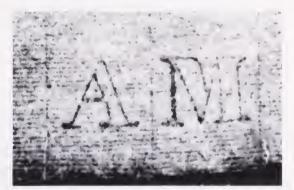
Comparative Illustrations



la Watermark of nos. 1, 2, and 3: MICHALLET



1a Watermark of nos. 1, 2, and 3: MICHALLET MS [monogram]



1b Watermark of nos. 15 and 16: AM



1c Watermark of nos. 17, 18, and 19: EB with caduceus in shield



2a Oarsmen on the Schuylkill, c. 1871 Oil on canvas, 27¹/₂ x 48¹/₂" Courtesy, Hirschl & Adler Galleries, New York



2b Max Schmitt, second rower from right in Oarsmen on the Schuylkill



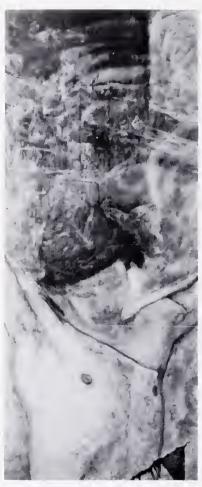
3 On the Delaware, 1874 Oil on canvas, 10¹/₈ x 17¹/₄" Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford. Gift of Henry Schnakenberg



4 Inverted x-ray of the Sketch for "The Gross Clinic" (no. 21)



5 The Fairman Rogers Four-in-Hand, 1879 Detail of a fan: oil on paper Collection of Mrs. Matthews Williams



6 X-ray of The Crucifixion (no. 37)





7 Two Cylinders and Ball, c. 1884 Oil on canvas, 3½ x 13½," Joslyn Art Museum, Omaha. Given in memory of George Barker, 1966



8 X-ray of Billy Smith (Sketch for "Between Rounds") (no. 96)



9a Detail of coat of arms in An Actress (no. 105)



9b Coat of arms from *The Keyser Family: Descendants* of Dirck Keyser of Amsterdam, compiled by Charles S. Keyser, Philadelphia, 1889



 William Merritt Chase. Lady with the White Shawl, 1893
 Oil on canvas, 75 x 52". Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia. Temple Fund Purchase



11 Portrait of Letitia Wilson Jordan Bacon, 1888 Oil on canvas, 60 x 40". The Brooklyn Museum, New York. Dick S. Ramsay Fund

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